FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-90-031
Wednesday
14 February 1990

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-90-031 *14 February 1990*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: • indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Hungary Proposes Troop Reductions in Vienna *[Budapest Radio]* 1
Romanian Delegate Addresses Geneva Arms Talks *[ROMPRES]* 1

BULGARIA

Baker 'Well-Informed' on Political Situation *[TRUD 12 Feb]* 2
Further on Dimitrov at Ottawa Conference *[Sofia Radio]* 2
Speaks at Open Skies Conference *[BTA]* 3
Turkish President Ozal Greets Mladenov *[BTA]* 3
Pirinski Discusses Davos Economic Symposium *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 7 Feb]* 3
Citizens 'Dumping' Goods in SFRY, Romania *[BTA]* 4
Spasov Accuses BCP of 'Torpedoing' Roundtable *[BTA]* 5
BCP Ethics Commission Elects Presidium *[Sofia Radio]* 5
Commission Formed To Draft Economic Laws *[Sofia Radio]* 5
Lukanov Chairs Meeting on Priorities *[Sofia Radio]* 5
Lukanov Talks With Chief Mufti on Muslims *[Sofia Radio]* 6
Interview With Ex-King Viewed Positively *[TRUD 12 Feb]* 6
Social Impact of Strikes Noted *[BTA]* 6
Workers Strike Ends; 'Symbolic' Strike Begins *[Sofia Radio]* 7
First Issue of UDF Newspaper Published *[BTA]* 7
Editorial Notes Political Ferment *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 26 Jan]* 7

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Baker Speech Criticized for 'Distrust' of Regime *[Zagar in Bratislava PRAVDA 9 Feb]* 9
Agreement Extends Time for Troop Withdrawal *[AFP]* 9
Spokesman Discusses Transport Problems *[Prague Radio]* 10
Discussion in Ottawa *[CTK]* 10
Havel Confirms Upcoming Visit to USSR *[CTK]* 10
Havel News Conference on Foreign, Domestic Issues *[Prague Radio]* 10
Havel Expects Bilateral Talks on Boes Dam *[Budapest Radio]* 15
Dlouhy Surveys Economic Reform *[Vienna KURIER 13 Feb]* 15
Federal Office Issues Social, Economic Report *[MLADA FRONTA 10 Feb]* 16
Civic Forum, PAV Request Progress Report *[Prague TV]* 19
Ministerial Resignations; Havel Fills Vacancies 20
Pinc, Two Others Reported Leaving *[Prague TV]* 20
Three Ministers Appointed *[CTK]* 20
Biographical Information Provided *[Prague Radio]* 20
Dienstier Addresses 'Open Skies' Conference *[CTK]* 21
Dubcek Address Notes 1968, 1989 'Milestones' *[CTK]* 21
Party Representatives Suggest Election Changes *[RUDE PRAVO 8 Feb]* 22
Stepan Activities Probed in 17 Nov Investigation *[Prague Radio]* 22
Minister Calls for Specialized Crime Center *[CTK]* 23
Sacher Comments on Border Crossing Issues *[Prague TV]* 23
CPCZ Officals To Lose Supplementary Payments *[RUDE PRAVO 9 Feb]* 23
Stur Society Responds to Hungarian Forum *[Bratislava PRAVDA 6 Feb]* 23
Hromadka Meets Israeli Officials, Holds Talks *[Prague Radio]* 25

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Foreign Ministers Agree on Unification Talks *[ADN]* 26
Fischer Addresses Meeting *[East Berlin TV]* 26
Modrow Welcomes Declaration *[ADN]* 26
Modrow Greets Plan for Talks *[Cologne Radio]* 26
Further on Modrow-Kohl Talks in Bonn *[ADN]* 26
Talks With Other Officials *[ADN]* 27
Modrow, Kohl News Conference *[East Berlin Radio]* 27
Modrow 'Disappointed' *[Hamburg DPA]* 30
Modrow on FRG Television *[ADN]* 30
Modrow Meets Vogel *[ADN]* 31
Brandt Hosts Dinner for Modrow *[ADN]* 31
Further Reportage on Visit *[cross-reference]* 31
Gysi Calls Kohl Plan 'Election Tactics' *[ADN]* 32
Further Comments by Gysi *[ADN]* 32
Ministers, FRG Greens Assess Kohl's Stand *[ADN]* 32
Roundtable Positions on Kohl-Modrow Talks *[ADN]* 32
Democracy Now Opposes Currency Reform *[ADN]* 33
Group's Political Goals *[BERLINER ZEITUNG 22 Jan]* 34
Groups Oppose 'Hasty' German Unification *[ADN]* 34
1989 Economic Statistics Show 'Decline' *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 20 Dec]* 34
Further Declines in Jan 90 *[ADN]* 36
* FRG Daily Profiles Major Parties, Groups
[Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE 1 Feb] 36
Former SED Official Released From Custody *[ADN]* 38
NDPD Chairman 'Regrets' Liberal Alliance *[ADN]* 38
Defense Minister Bars Campaigning on Bases *[ADN]* 38
Decree on Enterprises With Foreign Participation *[ADN]* 39
Government Approves 'Full Freedom of Trade' *[ADN]* 39
Newspaper Published in Hannover Appears *[ADN]* 39
New Leipzig Independent Weekly Issued *[ADN]* 39
New Independent Paper Published in Erfurt
[Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE 2 Feb] 39
Schmieder Elected German Forum Party Head *[ADN]* 39
Police Trade Union Founded 20 Jan *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 22 Jan]* 40
United Social Democratic Party Forms *[NATIONAL-ZEITUNG 24 Jan]* 40
TUERKIS Initiative Group Founded *[NATIONAL-ZEITUNG 24 Jan]* 41

HUNGARY

Nemeth Postpones Visits to Israel, Netherlands *[Budapest Radio]* 42
Foreign Minister Horn Winds Up Visit to Canada 42
Urges Accord on Surveillance Flights *[Budapest Radio]* 42
Horn, Clark Hold News Conference *[MTI]* 42
'Alarm' at Soviet Natural Gas Prospects *[MTI]* 42
Soviet Bank Official on Hungarian Trade Figures *[Budapest Radio]* 43
Planning Official Meets Maslyukov in Moscow *[MTI]* 43
Medgyessy Interviewed on CEMA Committee *[Budapest TV]* 43
* Pozsgay on Hungarian-Romanian Relations *[Bucharest ADEVARUL 18 Jan]* 43
Social Democratic Party Gives News Conference *[MTI]* 45
Petrasovits on Election Platform *[MTI]* 45
MSZP Now Eligible for Elections in Budapest *[MTI]* 45
Pozsgay Presents Views on Political Situation 45
Says Left Threatened in E. Europe *[Rome AVANTI! 7 Feb]* 45
On Importance of MSZP to Nation *[MTI]* 46
On Party's Role in Governing *[Budapest Radio]* 46
Nyers on Religious Freedom, Vatican Relations *[NEPSZABADSAG 7 Feb]* 47

POLAND

Spokesman Details Jaruzelski Stand on Germany *[Warsaw Radio]* 48
Mazowiecki on Official Visit to UK *[Warsaw Radio]* 48
Mazowiecki Dinner Speech *[PAP]* 48
Answers UK Poles *[PAP]* 49
Meets With Party Leaders *[PAP]* 49
Urges Investment in Poland *[PAP]* 49
Phones Skubiszewski From London *[PAP]* 50
Skubiszewski Addresses 'Open Skies' Forum *[PAP]* 50
Skubiszewski Proposes Recalling Ambassadors *[PAP]* 50
SDRP Opposes Seizures of PZPR Property *[TRYBUNA KONGRESOWA 8 Feb]* 51
USRP's Fiszbach on Property *[TRYBUNA 12 Feb]* 52
Mazowiecki Ranks High in Popularity *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 3-4 Feb]* 52
Walesa Increasingly 'Worried' About Situation *[RUDE PRAVO 9 Feb]* 52
Gdansk Solidarity Meeting Elects Officials *[PAP]* 53
Delegates Meeting Ends *[PAP]* 54
Gdansk Solidarity Called 'Second Commune' *[PAP]* 54
Solidarity Branch Sections Discuss Role *[PAP]* 54
Election Commission Meets on By-Elections *[PAP]* 54
Szatybelko Wins Sejm By-Election in Gdynia *[PAP]* 55

ROMANIA

1,000 Soldiers Demonstrate in Bucharest *[AFP]* 56
Demand Appointment of Civilian *[Bucharest Radio]* 56
Military Unit Disapproves of Officers' Action *[Bucharest Radio]* 57
Defense Communique on Officers' Demands *[Bucharest Radio]* 57
Roman Meets Military Representatives *[Bucharest Radio]* 57
Provisional National Unity Council Convenes 57
Elects Leaders *[ROMPRES]* 57
Discusses Validation of Members *[Bucharest Radio]* 58
Views Rules, Proposals *[ROMPRES]* 58
Adopts Regulations *[Bucharest Radio]* 58
Council To Meet Every Two Weeks *[ROMPRES]* 58
Adopts Rules; Monument Proposed *[ROMPRES]* 59
Standing Commissions Established *[ROMPRES]* 59
Leadership Names Listed *[Bucharest Radio]* 60
Iliescu To Remain as President *[Bucharest Radio]* 60
Iliescu Interviewed on National Unity Council *[Bucharest Radio]* 60
U.S. 'Expert' To Advise on Constitution *[AFP]* 61
Foreign Ministry Statement on RSA Measures *[ROMPRES]* 61

YUGOSLAVIA

Serbia's Prlja on 'Unofficial Visit' to U.S. *[POLITIKA 27 Jan]* 62
Fails To Convince Americans *[DELO 1 Feb]* 62
Sundic Commentary on German Unification *[Zagreb Radio]* 63
Talks on Foreign Economic Links With USSR *[TANJUG]* 63
Loncar Sends Message to Nonaligned Countries *[BORBA 1 Feb]* 63
Drnovsek Sends Message to Kaunda *[POLITIKA 3 Feb]* 64
Slovenia's Kucan Discusses Elections, Secession *[TANJUG]* 64
Constitutional Court's Standpoints Reported *[TANJUG]* 64
Croat Assembly Supports Constitutional Changes *[TANJUG]* 69
Republics Back Government Constitution Proposals *[TANJUG]* 69
Macedonia Proposes Multiparty System Law *[TANJUG]* 69

Army Drops Party From Regulations *[Soban in DELO 1 Feb]* 70
General on Yugoslav Supersonic Aircraft *[NARODNA ARMIJA 18 Jan]* 70
Kosovo Party Official on Albanian Demonstrations *[TANJUG]* 72
Croatian Presidency Endorses Kosovo Policy *[BORBA 9 Feb]* 73
Albanian Sentenced for 'Propaganda Material' *[RILINDJA 17 Jan]* 73
Demonstrating Albanian Nationalists Jailed *[TANJUG]* 74
Drnovsek Attends Slovene Presidency Session *[TANJUG]* 74

Hungary Proposes Troop Reductions in Vienna

LD1302213190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] At the Vienna armed forces reduction talks, Hungary has proposed that the NATO and Warsaw Pact member states should not be allowed to station more than 225,000 troops beyond their borders. Even out of this number, only 195,000 at most should be permitted in Central Europe. In the event of the proposal being adopted, the Soviet Union would have to withdraw 330,000 and the United States 80,000 troops.

At the Vienna armed forces reduction talks, this was the first time that an initiative has been submitted not by one of the alliance systems but by a single state, in this case the Hungarian state. The Hungarian concepts take the NATO standpoint into consideration. On one point, however, they diverge from it; namely, that a commitment to limiting the stationing of troops abroad should be undertaken not only by the two big powers, but by the other countries as well.

Romanian Delegate Addresses Geneva Arms Talks

AU1002183790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1613 GMT 10 Feb 90

["On the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/2/1990—Romania militates for the soonest possible conclusion of an international convention on stopping the manufacture of chemical weapons and completely destroying the existing stockpiles under a strict and efficient international control. It no longer makes the liquidation of chemical weapons contingent upon the simultaneous achievement of nuclear disarmament (as it was done before, owing to an absurd indication given by the ex-dictator).

Such points were given by the Romanian forein minister when setting forth the stance of the Romanian delegation at the current session of the Geneva Disarmament Conference.

Baker 'Well-Informed' on Political Situation

AU1302135790 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 12 Feb 90 p 3

[Dragomir Draganov article: "America Discovers Bulgaria"]

[Text] Only a few months ago what happened in Sofia on 10 February would have been a sensation, or at least would have served as grounds for rather unpleasant conclusions at the State Department about the quality of information supplied by the U.S. Embassy.

In fact it so happened that the first visit of a U.S. secretary of state to Bulgaria was accompanied by another two firsts, which on the basis of the old stereotypes did not fit Washington's traditional foreign policy approach. The visit took place only two days after the formation of the first cabinet in history consisting exclusively of members of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]. For his part, James Baker became the first foreign visitor to talk with the new premier, Andrey Lukanov. In diplomatic practice, such an act is always viewed not only as recognition of the government, but also as an expression of willingness to cooperate with it. Only a few months ago such a step would have prompted a sarcastic reaction in the U.S. press, which has always been especially sensitive about the totalitarian regimes in the East.

This time, however, there was no sensation, and nobody could accuse Ambassador Sol Polansky of any lack of professionalism. It would have been a sensation if the quickly organized visit had been quickly canceled. However, James Baker knew very well where he had arrived. He even surprised his hosts with how well-informed he was about the situation in our country. And if we are to correctly interpret the gesture of the United States' accepting the invitation to send the chief of its diplomacy to Sofia, we must understand that Washington views the events in Bulgaria as a part of the democratic processes that are taking place in East Europe. Such international recognition of restructuring is very important, despite the fact that not everybody in Bulgaria is satisfied with the depth and rate of social renewal, which actually is absolutely normal.

The time of James Baker's talks was divided in a gentlemanly manner between the official authorities and the opposition. There was nothing unusual in this. The visit was a working one in the true sense of the term—there were no speeches, toasts, or similar attributes of diplomatic courtesy. At first glance, it was unusual that everybody was visibly satisfied with the talks. However, it is clear that the secretary of state succeeded in grasping the specific characteristics of Bulgarian restructuring, in which the government and the opposition do not have any fundamental differences on the issue of democracy, despite the fact that in this context some people are often knocking on an open door. The guest probably also understood that the present official authorities actually represent the former concealed opposition within the BCP, which was not small, and thanks to which Bulgaria has parted with an authoritarian regime.

Naturally, the question that interests the Bulgarian people most is whether the changes in Bulgaria will in the future be accompanied by the appropriate positive changes in Bulgarian-U.S. relations. Judging by the words of Boyko Dimitrov, the answer is clearly positive. It has been agreed to begin consultations with a view to granting Bulgaria most-favored-nation status in trade relations with the United States. Washington promised to cooperate in admitting our country to GATT and, eventually, in admitting Bulgaria to the IMF and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in the future. For his part, Zhelyu Zhelev reported that issues related to providing material aid to Bulgaria were not discussed at the meeting with the leadership of the Union of Democratic Forces. It appears that the syndrome of the recent talk with the EEC envoy Andriessen will be avoided this time. This is to the credit of the opposition and Bulgaria as a whole.

It must be said that many of our politically naive citizens thought that the guest would appear as good old Uncle Sam. However, James Baker would not be the second-most-important figure in U.S. political life, and the country's top diplomat, if he had missed the opportunity to hint elegantly that the further improvement of relations would be related to the development of democratic changes in our country. In the past, such a statement would readily have been described as "interference in our internal affairs." However, we no longer hasten to stick labels. Now that we ourselves have begun to interfere in our own internal affairs, we should take care of them alone. In this way, we can most easily protect ourselves from foreign interference and preserve our national dignity.

This is so because if we cannot help ourselves alone, even super-rich America cannot help us, even now that it has started to discover Bulgaria.

Further on Dimitrov at Ottawa Conference

AU1302135990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Boyko Dimitrov, Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs, who is taking part in the "Open Skies" Conference of the foreign ministers of the NATO and Warsaw Pact member countries in Ottawa, had several bilateral meetings with his colleagues. BTA special correspondent Krasimir Drumev reports:

[Begin Drumev recording] At his talks with Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez, Spanish minister of foreign affairs, and Douglas Hurd, UK secretary of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs, the possibilities of developing bilateral relations were discussed. It was pointed out that those possibilities are significantly increasing against the background of the democratic changes that are taking place in Bulgaria.

Spanish and British businessmen are interested in economic cooperation. In the near future, the Spanish foreign minister and the UK deputy secretary of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs will visit Sofia. [end recording]

Speaks at Open Skies Conference

AU1302221490 Sofia BTA in English 2055 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Ottawa, February 13 (BTA correspondent)—Mr. Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, delivered a speech at the Open Sky Conference held in Ottawa. He underlined that the democratic internal political changes in Europe are of great importance for the promotion of confidence and understanding among peoples. He highly evaluated the open sky project and spoke in favour of an inspection regime which, through a joint aircraft fleet for example, will give big and small countries equal opportunities for participation in the project.

Yesterday Mr. Boyko Dimitrov had a number of bilateral meetings with his colleagues. At the talks he had separately with his Spanish counterpart, Mr. Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez, and with Mr. Douglas Hurd, British secretary of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs, great interest was shown in the democratic changes that are under way in Bulgaria. It was pointed out that in this way the possibilities for cooperation are increased. Minister Dimitrov told Bulgarian journalists that both the Spanish and the British minister backed up the promotion of Bulgaria's relations with the European Community. The Spanish foreign minister, Mr. Fernandez-Ordonez, and Mr. Waldgrave, minister of state at the British Foreign Office, are going to pay a visit to Bulgaria soon.

Minister Boyko Dimitrov had a meeting with his Turkish counterpart, Mr. Mesut Yilmaz, that lasted one hour and fifteen minutes. It was a continuation of the Bulgaro-Turkish dialogue. The two ministers discussed the situation of the two countries' relations in the light of the talks and the positions stated at their recent meeting in Kuwait. An agreement was reached that at the present stage, after overcoming the dramatism and the critical moment in Bulgaro-Turkish relations, it is appropriate to seek practical steps for the normalization and promotion of these relations. It is necessary to strengthen the confidence between the two countries; their normal dialogue should go on. The meeting between the deputy ministers of foreign affairs of Bulgaria and Turkey scheduled for March 1990 will serve this purpose. Measures are outlined for strengthening the two countries' confidence in each other, Minister Dimitrov told Bulgarian journalists, but it takes two things—a solid basis and time.

At a short meeting with the minister of foreign affairs of Czechoslovakia, Mr. Jiri Dienstbier, it was underlined that in the conditions of sweeping democratic changes in Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia the traditional cooperation between the two countries should be reconsidered and activated.

Turkish President Ozal Greets Mladenov

AU1302181790 Sofia BTA in English 1755 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 13 (BTA)—Mr. Petur Mladenov, State Council president of Bulgaria, received from Mr. Turgut Ozal a cable which reads: "Flying above Bulgaria's territory, I would like to send to Your Highness [as received] greetings with the best of wishes."

Pirinski Discusses Davos Economic Symposium

AU1102210190 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Feb 90 p 6

[Report on interview with Georgi Pirinski, member of the Bulgarian parliamentary delegation attending the "World Economic Forum" symposium in Davos, Switzerland, by Petur Gornenski; place and date not given: "Discussion of Europe's Future"]

[Text] According to a 20-year-old tradition, in the first week of February every year, the Swiss resort of Davos plays host to the participants in the "World Economic Forum" symposium. In recent years, representatives of the USSR and East European countries have taken an increasingly greater part in this meeting. This participation reached a unique peak at this year's forum. The meeting was also attended by a Bulgarian delegation led by Andrey Lukanov, who had just been elected chairman of the Council of Ministers. Georgi Pirinski was a member of the delegation, and kindly answered questions put to him by a representative of the RABOTNICHESKO DELO Editorial Board.

[Gornenski] Comrade Pirinski, which main topics were at the center of attention at this year's Davos forum?

[Pirinski] This year the discussions in Davos covered the most important trends in world economic development and international political life. Attention was mainly concentrated on Europe and on the processes under way there. One should point out the lengthy speech by Federal Chancellor Kohl on the new Europe that is in the course of being formed. The leitmotif of this speech was security—the need in all cases, irrespective of what any other state or people may undertake, for it to be subordinated to the requirement to guarantee the security of each and everyone in Europe. Special attention was paid to the processes connected with the two German states.

In connection with the political aspects of the discussion in Davos, I would like to note another characteristic feature. All the participants—from both East and West—stressed the exceptional importance of consistently applying the principles of the new political thinking in developing international relations in Europe and the world. Resolute support was voiced for the

process of restructuring in the Soviet Union, as well as recognition of Mikhail Gorbachev's contribution in this direction.

[Gornenski] Could you outline the economic problems that came to the forefront during the forum's discussion?

[Pirinski] The discussion covered an entire range of most topical issues of the contemporary international economy, such as technology transfer, the debt problem, and the multilateral regulation of international economic relations. Time was also given to the issue of the East European countries' integration into the world economy, which are changing to a market-type economy.

[Gornenski] What were the comments at the forum on economic reforms now taking place in the socialist countries?

[Pirinski] The issue of restructuring the economies of the socialist countries on a market basis provoked a very interesting discussion. The two basic problems discussed in this connection concerned the progressive nature of the measures that needed to be undertaken and the rate or speed of these changes. The view was expressed that an immediate start should be made on urgent anti-crisis measures and measures aimed at structural reorganization. On the question regarding the rate of changes, which is also the subject of lively discussion in Bulgaria, the concept emerged that the measures should be as radical as possible but with one limiting condition, namely that they must be accepted by society and win society's confidence. In other words, society must believe that these measures will lead to an improvement of the situation. In this way, the principle was formulated of "confidence in the drastic approach" or "the drastic approach with confidence."

[Gornenski] Would you speak in more detail on the interest in the changes in Bulgaria?

[Pirinski] The interest in Bulgaria was characterized by the fact that an objective assessment was made of the depth of changes under way, the speedy dismantling of the command-administrative structures, and the rapid democratization of the Communist Party itself. Stress was laid on the impression that these processes are taking place in a sufficiently stable social climate, something that is, of course, also favorable for our country's status as a participant in international economic life. In essence, all the forces of society in Bulgaria—both those that have already established themselves and the ones that have newly appeared—are interested in maintaining this stability on the basis of an open and equal dialogue, the exchange of differing views and of contradictory standpoints, but always within the framework of the necessary tolerance and constructiveness of this dialogue. In this manner, the view that is being formed about Bulgaria will be confirmed, namely that it is a country that is moving decisively, unswervingly, and sufficiently fast toward pluralism and a market economy, but not on the basis of confrontation. It should be stressed that our Western partners are definitely worried by the processes and phenomena of profound social divisions in certain East European countries, and stress their preference for a smoother transition toward pluralism. With regard to our country, they voice their expectations that the democratic processes will continue, will develop, and will establish themselves in their full depth, which is also what we want.

Citizens 'Dumping' Goods in SFRY, Romania

AU1402092190 Sofia BTA in English 1923 GMT 13 Feb 90

["Bulgarian Smugglers Make a Dumping in Yugoslavia"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 13 (BTA)—Many Bulgarians make the first steps towards a market economy and convertibility of the lev outside this country, if one judges by articles in today's press and TV broadcast.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO runs a report from the Yugoslavian town of Nis, which enterprising Bulgarian "merchants" have turned, alongside with other cities of Yugoslavia, into a market of goods smuggled from Bulgaria.

Making avail of the freedom of travel guaranteed by the law, enterprising "tourists" boldly trade at the Yugoslavian market with just anything: children's and ladies' ready-to-wears, foodstuffs, tools. "The common denominator" for this illegal trade is the incredibly...low prices, by which the Bulgarians make a real dumping in Yugoslavia, causing the understandable discontent of local producers, as RABOTNICHESKO DELO writes.

A bottle of Bulgarian brandy is sold there for merely 3 dollars, a kilo of local salami for about 5 or 6 dollars, 15 kilos of Bulgarian kashkaval (processed cheese) for 20 dollars. In fact the Bulgarians take local currency, too, which they later change "on the black market" for dollars or West German marks. In Bulgaria convertible currency is naturally changed again "at the black market rate" for leva and the circle is thus closed.

Our work has increased by 3 to 4 times after the free travel permission last year, said a customs officer in an interview for RABOTNICHESKO DELO. He said that the attempts to illegally export goods in larger than the admissible amounts have acquired an epidemic character and customs officers simply cannot manage to do their jobs....

According to national television, at the Bulgaro-Romanian frontiers the situation is similar.

Well, you see, I am leaving for Poland for two months and I have to take some presents, something to drink,... said a man in the emission broadcast two days ago by the TV from the control border point in Ruse. He had with him 200 bottles of brandy.

Spasov Accuses BCP of 'Torpedoing' Roundtable

AU1302220790 Sofia BTA in English 2123 GMT 13 Feb 90

["Opposition and Communists Argue About Round Table"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 13 (BTA)—Mr. Georgi Spasov, spokesman of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF), compared the national round table with "a boat with oars on one side only, that's why it's going round and round in a vicious circle."

In a statement made on the Bulgarian Television tonight, Spasov accused the delegation of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] of torpedoing the work of the round table talks, which hinders the reaching of an agreement on any question whatsoever. He said that the Communists are in complete isolation, but nevertheless they keep arguing even about the status of the round table.

Spasov repeated the position of the UDF concerning the responsibility of the BCP for the establishment and the activity of the totalitarian regime and underlined that it is necessary to dismantle the BCP structures, which he compared with "cancerous growths." He insisted that the BCP organizations formed in places of work should be disbanded, because they are "a means of the nomenclature to keep in subjection and to exploit all working people, Communists included," the UDF spokesman said, and called on the Communists to disband these organizations themselves.

Spasov recalled the warning of the UDF that it will withdraw from the round table talks if the Communists keep torpedoing its work and added that the BCP will be responsible for the possible failure of the round table.

In a "counterstatement" on television the leader of the delegation of the BCP, Mr. Georgi Pirinski, reminded that a contact group has been set up which is trying to bring closer the positions of the participants in the round table talks in compliance with the proposal made by the leader of the UDF, Mr. Zhelyu Zhelev. The group has already worked out a project for a common platform about the status of the "table."

The representative of the BCP pointed out that any dictatorial approach is unacceptable and that such an approach questions the work of the round table. He recalled the BCP proposal to discuss Bulgaria's socio-economic problems at the round table talks and called for a tolerant and constructive dialogue aimed at the achievement of nation-wide consensus.

BCP Ethics Commission Elects Presidium

AU1302212590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] At its session held today, the Central Party Ethics Commission of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] discussed in an analytical, frank spirit the most important issues relating to the role, place, tasks, and structure of this new BCP organ.

The meeting elected the Presidium of the Central Party Ethics Commission, consisting of the following members: Angel Stoychev, Blagoy Dechev, Bozhana Kasabova, Valentina Shalamanova, and Ivan Ivanov; Yordan Zarchev, as chairman of the commission, Kiril Kalyonski, deputy chairman; and Mariyka Popova, and Todor Todorov.

Commission Formed To Draft Economic Laws

AU1302220990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] A commission has been formed at the Council of Ministers that has been charged with proposing amendments to and repealing normative acts of the Council of Ministers, ministries, and other departments, as well as individual orders that hamper the expansion of economic initiatives and the enterprise of the companies, other economic organizations, and citizens.

The work of the commission will be made easier if proposals concerning individual normative acts are submitted in writing to the Legal Department of the Council of Ministers by 19 February.

Lukanov Chairs Meeting on Priorities

AU1202220990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia— The government held a meeting chaired by Andrey Lukanov today at which the question of priorities in the government's work within the forthcoming weeks was discussed.

It was decided at the next government sessions to discuss and adopt decisions on the most urgent problems related to agricultural production and to the 1990 agricultural campaign, including the question of optimally applying the opportunities of private initiative in this sector. It was also decided to discuss the situation of the domestic market, measures for its improvement, and urgently required changes in the organizational-economic foundations of domestic trade and services. It was decided to discuss the solution of urgent problems related to material supplies with the purpose of normalizing the production process; to deal with changes in the foreign exchange mechanism aimed at stimulating export incomes; to discuss the effective use of material resources stemming from convertible currency; to review proposals for some amendments to the Code of Regulations on Economic Activities and the Labor Code.

The progress of preparations for a program on the country's socioeconomic development, including the anticrisis measures and the 1990 budget, was also reviewed at today's meeting.

The government also discussed certain demands submitted by labor collectives that contain warnings about symbolic and real strikes. It was once more stressed that under the present circumstances, and considering the present limited possibilities of our national economy, the satisfaction of such demands, even if they should be justified, as a matter of principle is likely to increase inflation trends and to diminish the chance of overcoming the current crisis in the long run.

It was pointed out at the meeting that the ecological situation is deteriorating in certain areas of the country, which creates tension. It was decided that government members should visit these areas with the purpose of expanding the dialogue between the government, the local authorities, and the public, and with the purpose of finding solutions in accordance with the interests of the population in the relevant areas, and in conformity with national interests.

Questions related to organizational matters in the government's work were also discussed at today's meeting. The staff of a central commission was approved. The commission is in charge of investigating and submitting proposals on canceling legal documents that are restricting initiative and the spirit of enterprise of companies, other organizations, and private citizens, the economic and [word indistinct] activities.

Lukanov Talks With Chief Mufti on Muslims

AU1302210390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov received today Chief Mufti Dr. Nedyo Gendzhev, leader of the Muslim faith in Bulgaria, at his request.

During the conversation, the chief mufti raised certain questions concerning the activity of the Chief Mufti's Office and the freedom of Muslim rites. He reported that there had been an increase in complaints from the Bulgarian Muslim citizens in different parts of the country, connected with the problems that they had encountered following their return from the Republic of Turkey.

The chief mufti briefed the chairman of the Council of Ministers on the results of the work of the commission appointed by the roundtable to hear representatives from that section of the population, and handed him the proposals of the commission for solving these problems.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers emphasized that the government will do everything possible to fulfill the decision of the State Council and Council of Ministers of 29 December 1989, as well as the National Assembly declaration on the nationality issue, adopted on the basis of the consensus achieved by the public and political forces in Bulgaria.

He informed the chief mufti that the Council of Ministers will submit to parliament for its consideration a draft law on the names of Bulgarian citizens. In connection with the problems stressed, the chairman of the Council of Ministers announced that a government commission and oblast commissions will be set up, which will concern themselves with examining these issues, in accordance with Bulgarian legislation.

Interview With Ex-King Viewed Positively

AU1302145490 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 12 Feb 90 p 3

[TRUD-signed article: "Unusual Interlocutor]

[Text] We could say without exaggerating that Kevork Kevorkyan's interview in Madrid with Simeon, son of Boris III, who is in exile there, will yet evoke many conversations. The commentaries already began in front of the TV screens, mostly because the interview contained elements that merit serious thoughts about us as people, and about Bulgaria as our common motherland.

Those thoughts are the private affair of each of us; however, one way or another, the millions of fans of "Every Sunday" had the opportunity on 11 February to realize that glasnost is not merely a part of democracy. Glasnost, first of all, is a fertile soil of developing political culture, deprived until now of certain senses by the informational vacuum. At the same time, other senses were allowed to atrophy, while yet others were distorted. It is clear that it is far better to learn some information from the original source, rather than to receive it in the form of a report, cut in accordance with the level of intelligence that is attributed to us by others.

Social Impact of Strikes Noted

AU1302143590 Sofia BTA in English 1301 GMT 13 Feb 90

["The Social Reverberations of Strike Actions"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 13 (BTA)—Most Bulgarians take a negative view of strike actions, judging by the results of a public opinion survey conducted in early February and involving 1,383 people aged over 18.

As many as 48.3 per cent of the respondents say they disapprove of strikes, and 36.6 per cent say "it depends on the particular case". Merely 9.1 per cent of those polled take a positive view of the strike wave that has engulfed the country.

Sixty per cent and more believe that strikes should not be organized in areas supporting everyday life: health-care, power generation and public transport.

Most respondents voice serious concern over the danger of strikes wreaking havoc in the economy. As many as 63.4 per cent describe this danger as serious, and 19.4 per cent say the serious danger is confined to individual spheres.

74.4 of those polled say that the culprits for the dispute should take responsibility for the effects of industrial action.

In a separate development, Mr Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, speaking in a televised interview called on strike initiators to be prudent. He agreed that most grievances were just but said that the national economy was now in dire straits. He pointed out that the Government will soon issue a decision revising the job grading of some types of work. Strikers have often demanded higher job grades over the last few months.

The government is preparing urgent amendments to the effective labor code.

"Meeting strikers' demands, even when they are fair in principle, ultimately reinforces inflationary tendencies and slims tne chances of overcoming the crisis," says a government announcement published today.

Workers Strike Ends; 'Symbolic' Strike Begins

AU0802162890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] The metalworkers of some plants and shops of the Kremikovtsi Company discontinued the real strike that they had announced today at 0800 [0600 GMT]. As of 1500 [1300 GMT] the collectives turned their strike into a symbolic one.

The strike committee, which represents 11,000 workers, issued a declaration addressed to the National Assembly, the Council of Ministers, and the Provisional Committee of the Independent Trade Unions. The declaration contains demands to classify the labor in accordance with the conditions of metallurgic production. If 10 days after forming the new government the demands are not met, the collectives again will declare a real strike.

First Issue of UDF Newspaper Published

AU1202150990 Sofia BTA in English 1157 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 12 (BTA)—Today came the first issue of DEMOCRACY, a daily of the Union of the Democratic Forces (SDS): According to its leading article it has the ambitions to be objective and insisting but just. We will fight for democracy together, irrespective of our religion. Democracy either exists or not. It can be neither capitalist, nor socialist, the daily writes.

Stating its tasks before the opposition which was formed in the country, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the Union of the Democratic Forces writes that it will be naive to think that the SDS which unites the new democratic opposition can alone with its own potentials solve the great task: To lead the country from totalitarism to democracy, it should unite around itself and attract to its side all adherents of democracy among Communists, Zhelyu Zhelev writes. In the same article he places under doubt the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] capacity to lead the country away from totalitarism.

The daily runs a constituent declaration of the SDS from December 7, 1989 and a reference about its origination.

Without denying the BCP constructive role for the peaceful transition to democracy Petko Simeonov also expresses the opinion that the democracy of the party itself while retaining its leading political role does not at all mean transition to democracy.

In its information block "DEMOCRACY" covers with a detailed report the meeting between U.S. secretary of state and representatives of the SDS, held on Saturday.

An information from Paris about the SDS representatives participation in the international colloquium on "the democratic revolution in the East, promises and risks" tells about the interest shown in the SDS representatives by Western politicians, intellectuals and businessmen, as well as about the willingness of renowned personalities, among whom is Zbigniew Brzezinski, to visit Bulgaria.

The Soviet position about the unification of Germany and the results of the latest plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the CPSU are commented in the results of the latest plenum of the CC of the CPSU are commented in the papers' international columns.

Editorial Notes Political Ferment

AU2901173190 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Jan 90 p 1

[Editorial: Where Are We Going?"]

[Text] Political passions are being aroused, social strata are polarizing, and our society is being politicized not by the day, but by the hour. This is inevitable; this is why we had our 10th of November, with no illusions about the possibilities and the ensuing consequences.

Democratization, glasnost, pluralism of views, and dismantling of the administrative-command system—these are the principles that the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] declared in the very first days following the overthrow of the totalitarian Zhivkov regime. Everyone can see the evidence of the real establishment of these principles. Some of these are already accomplished facts, which can hardly be denied by anyone who is unbiased in his evaluation of events. Others, such as the dismantling of the administrative-command system, for example, constitute a process—neither an easy one, nor again a once-and-for-all act—through which the Bulgarian Communists and our entire society must pass, with all the inevitable clashes and accompanied by open struggle both within the party and between the parties.

However, it is from this viewpoint, in this social situation, that the state of the economy gives rise to ever-increasing alarm. We have a grave legacy to overcome.

Economists are already forecasting that if things continue to develop in the economy as they have done during January so far, we face complete economic collapse within the next few weeks or months, at the most, a collapse with unforeseeable consequences for every Bulgarian citizen. It is more than obvious that the industrial and agricultural sectors, even those of them that possess production capacities and material and labor resources, are not producing today even half of what they are capable, and that this lag is increasing alarmingly with every passing day.

What are the reasons? It is infinitely difficult to outline them in a few senetences. The objectively necessary economic links are sinking in the morass of political clashes, and the interdependent links of the general chain are being broken. A work stoppage in one enterprise, in one economic unit, causes a domino effect, leading to the shutdown of dozens of enterprises.

Another reason is the wave of strikes, which undoubtedly has acted as an escape valve for accumulated social discontent and accumulated social injustice. The lesson from the strike in Sofia's public transportation system is instructive for both sides in the dispute. The lesson indicated that the monologues—and these were on both sides—were, to say the least, devoid of the elementary requirements for civilized dialogue. The procrastination, indecision, and even panic with which the Sofia City People's Council delayed fulfilling the preliminary agreement signed by its own representative led to nothing else than the regrettable explosion of 22 January.

We will reiterate the well-known truth, namely that economics is the science of the possible. Yes, by dismantling the command-administrative system and resolutely reducing the monstrously swollen administrative apparatus and the related superfluous expenditures, the government must carry out the first steps toward settling the immediate requirements of the socially deprived strata of the population. However, some members of the collective of a certain company warned that they would declare a strike unless their salaries were increased from 1,000 to 3,000 leva, and they were all without exception given apartments (we withold the name of this collective in order not to arouse the anger of the rest of the population of those who have real grounds to demand pay increases). In other places, demands are being made for pay increases of 100, 200, and 300 percent, again without preliminary negotiations, sensible dialogue, and mutual assessment and analysis by both sides of what is possible, but only with monologues from one or both sides, and with ultimatums. Let us even allow that the leaderships of the companies or economic organizations and the government, squeezed by the pressure of justified and unjustified claims, will meet some of the demands by taking money from all the possible available funds. These are the possibilities. What will be the outcome from meeting the impossible demands? It will result in a cranking up of the money-printing machine. One does not have to be an economist in order to foresee what will follow from this and which class of the population will be most dramatically effected, especially when, because of the strikes and other reasons, the greatest part of the production of goods and services for the population is decreasing every day.

Recently a respected economist proved on the pages of RABOTNICHESKO DELO that inflation in Bulgaria is running at nine percent. In Poland, the permanent wave of strikes during the last five to six years has inflated the zloty more than 100-fold. It is difficult to establish what our choice will be. What we need now is neither slogans, nor hollow appeals. One thing is clear—reason must prevail.

Baker Speech Criticized for 'Distrust' of Regime

AU1302174490 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Feb 90 p 2

[Bedrich Zagar commentary: "Formulations Which Raise Questions"]

[Text] The day before yesterday [7 February], U.S. Secretary of State James Baker delivered a speech in the Carolinium Hall in Prague, which had been heralded in advance as extremely significant for East-West relations. It contained several passages that deserve to be pondered and whose very formulations raise several questions.

Mentioning free elections, James Baker made a reference to President Bush's call for free elections to be included in the catalogue of human rights. Even prior to the Copenhagen session of the CSCE, the United States will propose measures to support, monitor, and implement a regime of free elections within the CSCE process. J. Baker called on all CSCE member states to join the United States in sending delegations whose mandate will be to examine whether the elections of 1990, borne of people's power, will truly represent the will of the people. Czechoslovakia is one of the countries where elections will be held this year, and it is as though J. Baker was expressing a certain distrust of our present regime and calling in question the power of our people. Is our republic not considered to be sufficiently advanced in terms of democracy, or is it to be downgraded to the status of some kind of a "banana republic"? We believe that our elections do not require any outside "inspectors." It is precisely the presence of delegations from other states which could adversely influence the free elections and needlessly trigger our voters' suspicion of interference in our internal affairs or of the elections being manipulated. Our people are holding the elections for themselves and the elections must therefore remain their sole affair. Indeed, Romania has said that it will invite observers to its elections, but only observers from the UN and not from the 35 CSCE states.

Speaking about the U.S. program of bilateral assistance for Czechoslovakia, James Baker said that President Bush would notify the U.S. Congress that he is temporarily renouncing his right to enact the requirements enshrined in the Jackson-Vanik amendment. After the conclusion of a trade agreement [with the United States], the road would thus be open for Czechoslovakia to be awarded the status of a most-favored-nation. The most-favored-nation clause in itself is discriminatory and undemocratic and now conditions are being attached even to the promise of it being awarded to Czechoslovakia. The fact is that what Secretary Baker said will apply only when the Czechoslovak parliament passes new, more liberal laws on emigration. Is there need for more liberalism in a situation when practically every citizen who so wishes can travel abroad today? The United States' waiting for the passage of legislation smacks of linkage [podminovanie] and of accentuation of Czechoslovakia's certain dependence on the United States. This issue has been repeatedly addressed by Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, who says that we are not asking for any gifts and assistance from anyone but favor equal economic relations and do not want to be dependent upon any great power ever again.

In one passage of his speech, in which he said that changes of a military nature must keep pace with political changes, Secretary Baker addressed an important international issue. In this connection he spoke on expanding the agenda of the talks on confidence-and-security-building measures. In his opinion, one should consider proposals for greater military transparency between neighboring states, especially in the border areas. However, in this context he stressed that NATO will continue to play an important role in Europe. This policy of the United States is not very productive, however, because it confirms the United States' interest in preserving the presence of its troops in Europe over the long term. This bodes ill for the prospect of the liquidation of military alliances, which is the basic prerequisite of the intensification of the all-European process. After all, one cannot demand that the other side withdraws its troops while insisting on the permanent stationing of one's own military units on foreign territory.

Agreement Extends Time for Troop Withdrawal

AU1302125490 Paris AFP in English 1238 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Prague, Feb 13 (AFP)—Czechoslovakia has agreed to extend its deadline for the withdrawal of Soviet troops beyond the end of this year, after Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev intervened personally in the negotiations, a foreign ministry spokesman announced Tuesday.

The departure of Soviet "combat units" will take place before the end of the year but support and logistic units will not withdraw until next year, spokesman Lubomir Dobrovsky said.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Party organ, SVOBODNE SLOVO, said Saturday that 1,700 trains of 35 coaches would be needed for the transport of the 75,000 Soviet soldiers and their material.

The Soviet troops, which were deployed in August 1968, have 1,200 tanks, 146 helicopters, 77 aircraft and 2,500 vehicles and troop transporters. All this equipment, excluding the aircraft, will be loaded onto trains near Soviet military bases, the paper said quoting Czechoslovak Defence Minister Milan Vacek.

The paper noted that all the convoys would have to go through Cierna nad Tisou station in eastern Slovakia for a change of bogies because of the difference in gauge between Czechoslovak and Soviet railways.

Technical resources could cope with no more than four convoys a day, or 140 wagons. But the daily said "a year would be enough" to complete the operation.

The second round of negotiations on the withdrawal on February 8 and 9 was adjourned and talks were to resume this week in Moscow at expert level.

The main Soviet bases are in northern Bohemia near Ceska Lipa and Teplice, north of Prague between Mlada Boleslav and Milovice airport, northern Moravia at Olomouc, central Slovakia at Zvolen and at Kosice in eastern Slovakia.

Spokesman Discusses Transport Problems

LD1302204490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Immediately after the news conference by the president of the Republic, the press spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Lubos Dobrovsky,met with journalists.

He confirmed that the Soviet Union will withdraw its troops from Czechoslovakia and that therefore, there will be none here in the future. Nevertheless, there are some problems connected with this withdrawal and its date, in particular transport problems. The Vienna talks will not have an effect on this withdrawal. Lubos Dobrovsky expressed appreciation for the significance of yesterday's message by Mikhail Gorbachev to Vaclav Havel which helps to explain the reasons why the Soviet side is doing so much to extend the date of the final withdrawal of troops from Czechoslovak territory. He continued:

[Begin Dobrovsky recording] In any event, in the talks we wish to achieve, as far as possible, the departure of all fighting units so that our date, the end of the year 1990, is not exceded by too large a margin. We also hope to do this so that the rest of what remains—that is, the noncombatant installations, are removed naturally also as soon as possible. However, we hope this is done in such a way as to ensure that the ecological damage that is taking place shall, we say now, no longer take place. I believe that this is very hopeful and very realistic. [end recording]

Lubos Dobrovsky said that an agreement was reached which stipulates, above all, that those military units to be withdrawn this month will stop their exercise activity. The agreement also stipulates that the Soviet side join in working out a special agreement in which all damage proved to have been caused by the troops, their exercise activity, their nonrespect of certain hygiene and ecology regulations, will be paid for by the Soviet Union. Problems connected with a great number of purchases made by Soviet soldiers in our country before their departure are also being discussed.

Discussion in Ottawa

LD1402094190 Prague CTK in English 0750 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Ottawa Feb 14 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier and his Soviet counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze met here last night in the framework of the "Open Skies" conference for talks on a Soviet troops withdrawal from Czechoslovak territory.

Eduard Shevardnadze explained the difficulties that the Soviet Union has with providing social security to members of the Soviet Army after the withdrawal, and promised that the Soviet side will send a written statement on the proposals of the Czechoslovak authorities.

Havel Confirms Upcoming Visit to USSR

LD1302103790 Prague CTK in English 0914 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 13 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel received last night Soviet Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Viktor Lomakin. The ambassador conveyed a personal message to him from Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

During the meeting, Vaclav Havel and Viktor Lomakin confirmed that an official visit of the Czechoslovak president to the Soviet Union will start on February 26.

Havel News Conference on Foreign, Domestic Issues

LD1302154790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Live relay of news conference by President Vaclav Havel at Prague Castle]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent Alena Mitterova] Hello, we are going to carry a live relay of the press conference from the News Gallery of Prague Castle, and we have linked up just in time, because, as I speak, President Vaclav Havel has just come into the New Gallery here. First, the president's press spokesman, Michael Zantovsky, is going to summarize the activity of our head of state in the last few days. As I have said, the president is already in his place, so we do not expect this summary to last too long, and we expect the question and answer session to get under way very soon.

[Correspondent David Stahlavsky] the person you hear speaking now is press spokesman Michael Zantovsky:

[Zantovsky] I would like to start by saying that also with us here is Foreign Ministry spokesman Lubos Dobrovsky, who is ready to answer questions on Czechoslovak foreign policy. If you want more detailed answers, he has asked me to point out that for anyone who is interested, after the news conference he will answer more questions.

First, a few short announcements. [passage omitted] As many of you know, President Havel is to leave in the next few days for a visit to Iceland, Canada, and the United States. Here are a few details on this, because we have had a whole series of questions about that trip. The president will be visiting Reykjavik, Ottawa, Toronto,

Washington, and New York. In Iceland he will be meeting with Icelandic President Mrs. Finnbogadottir, attending a performance of his play "Asanace," and meeting actors and dramatists. In Canada he will meet with the Canadian governor-general, Premier Brian Mulroney, and with the government of Ontario Province, and he will have lunch with a delegation of Czechoslovak expatriates and answer their questions at a meeting. He will also visit Josef Skvorecky's "68 Publishers" publishing house. In the United States he will meet with President Bush and visit a number of important institutions and universities, and on the second day he will addresss both houses of the U.S. Congress in Washington, and meet with leading congressional officials. On the third day, in New York, he will visit UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar, New York Mayor David Dinkins, the Metropolitan Museum, and the Helsinki Watch organization, which monitors human rights. He will also meet with representatives of churches and religious organizations and attend a big concert of classical and rock music organized in his honor by leading U.S. artists. Negotiations are currently under way with Czechoslovak television for a live relay of this concert.

Before we let you ask questions, i would like to ask you please to wait for the microphone to be put in front of you, thank you. Your questions, please.

[Margolin] I am Jiri Margolin from SIGNAL. Mr President, how, in your view, are the talks on the departure of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia progressing, and what are their prospects?

[Havel] What I would like to say is this: Lubos Dubrovsky may be able to tell you the details of these talks, because he is taking part in those talks as a member of our delegation. Since we thought that this question would come up, we invited him to today's news conference. As for myself, I will say this: The delegation negotiating the departure of the Soviet troops with the Soviet side, just like the government of national understanding, like me personally, and all our public, naturally have a great interest in ensuring that the Soviet troops leave as soon as possible and as quickly as possible. This is in the interests of the political stability of our country, and therefore the political stability of the whole of Central Europe. On the other hand, after I received a message from Mr. Gorbachev during the night, I realized that there are certain aspects which, from the Soviet side, we must take seriously. There are certain aspects of this problem which I personally did not realize before; for example, the fact that it is not merely a question of those 70,000 troops and their families, but above all of the immense quantity of munitions which have been stockpiled for over more than 20 years in this country and which cannot be moved out overnight. The whole departure is also associated with great internal political problems in the Soviet Union, and these are aspects which we must take into account. This, however, does not alter anything about our intention to negotiate for the troops to leave as soon as possible. The sooner they leave, the greater the political stability in our country and the surrounding countries will be. Perhaps Lubos Dobrovsky would like to add some details on this issue.

[Dobrovsky] I can give some details, but I think it would be better for us to remain a few moments after the president has finished, and I will give more details then. No doubt there will be some more specific questions. In principle, however, I would like to say that the talks between the two delegations, the Czechoslovak and Soviet ones, which are dealing with the questions of the departure, are still under way. The talks have not been broken off. The talks of the expert military technical commission will take place, will continue on Wednesday, and we expect that perhaps by the end of this week we could reach an agreement on convening plenary sessions. So what I can say now is very positive, and has already been stated in the Moscow communique of the talks. The Soviet troops will begin to withdraw as early as this month, and a substantial part of the Soviet combat units will leave Czechoslovak territory by the end of May this year. We will come back to the details once the president has left. In essence, the text of the agreement on their departure is ready, in principle we have agreed on the basic formulations. We will be adding only the final date, which is still a subject of discussion, and we will come back to that, too, once the President has left. The issue of the speed with which they depart is, of course, complicated by a whole series of circumstances, including the circumstances mentioned here by the president, circumstances which were contained in Mr Gorbachev's message. Of course, there are also certain technical circumstances which are complicating the situation. The basic technical circumstance is that Soviet troops are also beginning to leave Hungarian territory very soon now, and the output of the Cop transloading station will be considerably restricted for our purposes, thus presenting a serious technical transport problem. But I do not want to delay things, so please stay behind afterwards and I'll come back.

[Markusova] I am Helena Markusova from the English Department of Czechoslovak Radio's external service. Mr President, I have three questions for you. When we talk about revitalizing relations between Czechoslovakia and the United States, attention naturally focuses on economic questions, and they will no doubt occupy a leading place in your talks in Washington. Do you think, Mr President, that there will be room in those talks for closer contacts, and perhaps aid in the field of education, science, and culture—that is the first question. Second: do you think that there will be a violent return to the old situation in February? Third—and this is closely connected with that, perhaps—is it true that Czechoslovak Army maneuvers have begun, and is this connected with February?

[Havel] All right, I will reply to these three questions, but in reverse order, so if I forget which question comes next, please tell me. Regular checks are under way in the army. They take place every year. I have give an order for them to be carried out just now, at this moment, because it

seems to me that this is an appropriate time for our army to make it clear that it is capable of defending the independence of our country, freedom and our newly won democracy, which is its role. On the troop movements, if you see troops moving around, then it is for that reason and on my orders. As far as a return to the old situation and a possible coup are concerned, there is not going to be any coup, because no one is interested in it, no one needs it, and no one knows how to carry it out. The only thing that the friends of the old order and dark forces know how to do is spread panic with their disinformation. However, even their panic-spreading serves a purpose, because it leads to vigilance, and vigilance is never a bad thing.

Now for the third, or should I say the first, question: As far as our future relations with the United States are concerned, we are not going there to ask for anything or beg for anything; nonetheless we expect these relations to become much more vigorous and productive, and of course we expect to learn from the Americans everything that they know and which we don't know. In other words, this will apply to things like how to do business, how to conduct elections, how to learn, education, and so forth. There will probably also be some economic talks, because several economic ministers are going with us, but we definitely do not want gigantic loans which perhaps we would could never pay off. [passage omitted]

[Glenny] Mishas Glenny from the BBC: Kohl and Modrow are meeting in Bonn today to discuss the early reunification of Germany. The first question is whether the president welcomes the speed with which this process of reunification is taking place, and the second question is whether the president would like to speak in the congress in Washington about the possibility of disbanding the two military blocs?

[Havel] On the increasing pace of the reunifcation of Germany, I would say perhaps what I told Mr Modrow a few days ago, that this is a matter for the Germans whether they want to live in a single state. I am therefore in favor of their reunification if that is what they want, for their early reunification. At the same time I would recommend them to adhere to the well-known glorious German love of order, so that things do not happen too wildly, that is to say in the wider European context and against the European background.

The second question was what I intend to say to Congress. Do not be angry, Mr Glenny, but what I intend to say in Congress I will say when I am there.

[Unidentified journalist] Mr. President, Henry Kissinger recently proposed that the small European countries should take on a kind of neutral status, with the exception of the GDR, rather like Austria or Finland. What do you think? [Havel] Neutrality is a rather complex and two-edged notion. I am inclined to take the view that the security situation in Europe as a whole ought to be dealt with promptly and in a new way as one single complex. This kind of wild or unilateral declaration of neutrality by this state or that would rather tend, perhaps, to slow down rather than speed up the process of seeking a new European identity.

[Zantovsky] Mr. Edward Lucas has his hand up over there?

[Lucas, in English with simultaneous translation into Czech] Mr Havel, when you go to Moscow, do you believe you are traveling outside Europe or inside Europe?

[Havel] As far as I can see from the map, a large part of the Soviet Union is part of Europe.

[(Chabicova), in Slovak] I am Mrs. (Chabicova) from [newspaper name indistinct]. Mr. President, during your time in office you have made several visits to towns and enterprises, but so far you have not been even once to an agricultural enterprise, and our people reproach you for this. Please can you tell us when you are going to visit an enterprise such as a state farm or cooperative farm?

[Havel] Very soon, and you will be surprised, because, I am not going to the JZD Slusovice Cooperative farm nor to any other show farm where they always used to take Mao Zedong and the like. [laughter] [passage omitted: journalist from women's magazine VLASTA notes various areas which Havel has visited to see how the people really live. He wants to know what Havel can offer other than words of understanding and consolation. Havel says there are things he can do by gaining the trust of the people. Another journalist asks what impact his election as president has had on world culture, in particular interest in his plays. Havel hopes that his work will not be published preferentially just because he is president.]

[Zantovsky] Mr. Ruml, over there on the right?

[Ruml] I am Ruml from LIDOVE NOVINY. I would like to come back to your visit to the United States. You said that there are talks under way about your being on television. Is your speech in Congress also going to be relayed—because time-wise, it will probably be in the morning—so that our viewers would be able to watch it in comfort in the afternoon?

[Havel] I do not know that, but I expect that it will be recorded so that it does not have to be relayed live at an inconvenient time, and I expect that Czechoslovakia will probably find the money to buy the recording from the United States.

[Zantovsky] As far as we know at the moment, the speech will be broadcast on U.S. television, and whether Czechoslovak Television has yet initiated talks on getting a live relay, we do not yet know.

That man over there on the left by the wall please?

[(Keetley), in English with simultaneous translation into Czech] Robert (Keetley) from the WALL STREET JOURNAL. How serious is the economic situation, what

are your first priorities, and what is the sense of urgency—can these actions wait until after the elections, or do you have to act fast?

[Havel] The transition of the economy from a centralized noneconomy to a true economy based on a kind of market economy is a very complicated process which has not been tried very often in history. It has no precedent, and that means there is a lot of difficult work to be done, not only in the sphere of legislation, budgeting, and allocation of resources, but above all in terms of people's thinking. There are not a lot of economically-minded people here because there was no way this could come about without a real economy. This is going to be a complex process, it has already begun, of course, and it will take a lot of steps and stages before we work out a true market mechanism. But it is impossible to say whether we can carry out this reform before the elections, after the elections, this year or next year. It is simply a very intricate process. For example, the Federal Assembly is discussing a bill on free enterprise, which is also one of the steps toward economic reform, or part of that reform, and there are all kinds of analyses in hand. At the same time, however, it is very important that until various laws and regulations and habits are rescinded or replaced by better ones, things have to function according to the ones that exist at the moment. You cannot simply call a halt to economic activity and wait to see what happens. If you want to reform, the whole thing has to keep going somehow and, in the meantime, it has to be transformed as a whole.

[Unidentified journalist, in English with simultaneous translation into Czech] There is some concern that the state of the economy is actually deteriorating, and that some sort of unrest, even strikes, could follow in the next few weeks. Do you share these concerns, and what are you doing to try to speed legislation in the National Assembly towards reform?

[Havel] As I said a few moments ago, I do not have to do everything myself, there are many creative people, and I cannot draft all the legislation for the Federal Assembly, nor is that part of my function, nor would it be appropriate. I have the right, of course, to submit draft legislation, and I have already sent some bills to the Federal Assembly, but I am not the only one with that right, fortunately. As for the economy, very soon the government will submit to the Federal Assembly a report on the state of the federation, and a report on the state of the economy in the two months that it has been in power, and at the same time it will be presenting some conceptual plans, so I am not going to do the job of the government. I personally believe that in this sphere, as in all the others, more panic is being spread than is appropriate. It is being said that the economy is on the verge of collapse, that in two or three days all the enterprises will grind to a halt, and so on. Well I can tell you it is really not as bad as that.

[(Zofka)] Mr. President, my name is (Borek Zofka), and I represent here the Montreal daily LE DEVOIR. One of my tasks is to cover your trip to Canada. Could you tell us, please, what do you expect from the Canadian Government? I don't mean begging, of course—and what do you expect from the Czech and Slovak fellow countrymen associations in Canada? Skvorecky will surely take care to hamper [as heard] publishing your books and performing your plays. [laughter in audience]

[Havel] We shall not go to Canada to ask for things, but rather to explain them. We shall ask for understanding and attention. We are a smaller country than Canada, we are very far from it, and we would like to explain what is happening in our country, what has happened, what are the international broader connections and consequences of this. Apart from this, we will have lunch with the representatives of the major exile and countrymen associations and organizations and through them we would like to address all people of Czech and Slovak origin, or the people whose ancestors were from this origin and who have some relations with their original homeland.

[Zantovskiy] The young lady in the third row...

[(Slanarova)] (Marcela Slanarova) from CTK. Mr. President, I have prepared for you a kind of new, and I would say, a more important question than the questions which have so far been put to you by the journalists here. It is rumored that in order to speed up your work, you tried to drive a scooter along the corridors of Prague Castle. Is this true? [laughter] Thank you.

[Havel] Yes, it is. The corridors here are very long, the offices are huge, too, and it took time to establish a system of work here. The point is that the system in the castle did not function well in the past. By saying this, I do not intend to offend the 450 employees of the Presidental Office, for all of them were doing something, but I think the president himself did not do much here. And so, before we outlined and worked out some sort of a work pattern, we, indeed, had a problem of incessantly running along these long spaces. The Society for a Better Present brought a scooter for me as a joke and I used it as a joke and I didn't fall down. Even though I have poor balance, I still didn't fall down.

[Lang, in English with simultaneous translation into Czech] Peter Lang, from [name of media indistinct], Hungary. Mr. President, returning to domestic problems: I would like to ask you for your view of the (?resolute) requirements in Moravia for self-administration and autonomy and how do you think these problems should be managed? Is this not dangerous for Czechoslovkia's federal structure?

[Havel] Yes, of course, I stand for Moravia gaining some measure of its own identity, because it possessed it for centuries and this identity has been supressed in various ways over the last decades. What is sad is that the last time it was respected was in the Boehmen und Maehren Protektorat [Havel uses German title]. And, as for the way this will be implemented, I cannot say, because this, of course, is not up to me alone. I hope that this will happen in a sensible and purposeful manner and that in

a week's time, we shall not split into three or even four (?units), such as the Silesia or Tesin area.

[Zantovsky]: And this, I think, is a Czechoslovak Radio correspondent.

[Stahlavsky]: Czechoslovak Radio, Milan Stahlavsky. Mr. President, permit me to ask two questions on behalf of our radio station. Allow me to quote several sentences from your New Year's speech, where you said that our state should never again be an appendage or a poor relative of anyone else. This is the first point. And, as for the second point: You also spoke about reviving the Christian ideals set out in Chelcicky's and Komensky's teachings and about the possibility of introducing a new element, the element of morals, into European and world politics. What is your understanding of these two theses before your coming visits to Washington and Moscow? This is my first question...

[Millerova, interrupting] I would like to join in, too. My name is Millerova also from Czechoslovak Radio. Mr. President, the parents and teachers in the Czech Socialist Republic are more and more discussing the present, say—a little chaotic work of the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Physical Training which is under new leadership. I am therefore interested in your personal view of the work of this ministry.

[Havel] I do not know much about the chaotic work of this ministry and therefore I cannot form my own special view of this. I had talks with the Czech Socialist Republic minister of education on several occasions, on the occasions of appointing rectors and so on, and I didn't gain an impression of talking to a man of chaos. But, indeed, I do not know much about this present situation and I therefore cannot speak about it.

Well, yes...as for the moral aspect, I would of course like to introduce it into politics and it even seems to me that, by looking round, I shall have to introduce it with more and more intensity.

[Zantovsky] A man in the audience has the following questions: Will the Czechoslovak Government ask the United States for a loan? The second question: What is the situation on amending the press law; following the amendments, will there be a possibility of setting up new press agencies?

[Havel] Well, as to the first question: There is a difference between a loan, investment, some sort of possible participation in joint firms, and so on. It will be up to our economists to assess all the offers which are coming and to start talks about those that are advantageous for both sides. As to the press law: I do not know for certain, but I have the impression that the Federal Assembly somewhat forgot about it, but I am not sure. May be it will be discussed and approved as early as at the next plenum. But if it was forgotten, I would understand it. Freedom of the press, of information media, has already begun, which has been noticed by everyone, and this is why it is possible that the appropriate law has been forgotten. But I am using this question to say something about free press.

The press, as we know, had not been free for a long time, and now suddenly, it is free, and it is somewhat taken aback and enchanted by the fact. It cannot very well come to terms with its freedom yet—it must learn it because we are all learning. I am learning to be president, journalists are learning to be journalists, and we can see in the papers that this has various snags, that it is not that simple. On the one hand, we read countless remarkable articles, comments, analyses, discussions. One is asking, how did the people come to know all this—they used to write such nonsense, and now they are writing so well.... [changes thought] On the other hand, certain gutter press, sensational articles are appearing, exaggerating party allegiance, and so on.

Perhaps, this is the necessary duty for the self-searching and learning process. Often, one can find remains of totalitarian thinking. [passage omitted on remarks about journalist Hrabovsky]

It is also interesting to note, in connection with the free press and free media, that when freedom appeared, when it became easy to grab someone special and interview him, there appeared little loss in the sensational press. Personally, I appoint new ministers or new general prosecutors, I perform some kind of statesmanship, but I cannot read about it in the papers, not because they do not pay attention to me—they write more about me than I need and than I am interested in—there are various interviews with my colleagues of many years ago and so on—but there should also be reports of certain statehood tasks which do not concern my person, but which concern all of us. But because, probably, it goes via CTK and is sort of anonymous [and does not get published], nobody becomes famous by putting this sort of thing in the papers. We have even felt the need temporarily to hire one page of LIDOVE NOVINY in order, as a presidential office, to be able freely to print reports about what we have done, what ambassadors or ministers we have received, or, even to print some important speeches. [passage omitted mentioning the example of the polish sejm] But I shall not give any orders to newspapers or beg them for anything. We have freedom and journalists, too, must learn freedom; they must become better and better.

[Zantovsky] A question from the audience:

[Unidentified speaker] Mr President, there have been speculative views on the possibility of three ministers of the Czechoslovak Government resigning. What is your view on this question?

[Havel] If a minister hands in his resignation, it is up to me whether or not I shall accept it. I may appoint a new one, I even have the right to recall a minister. This is one of the powers of the president that I mentioned. Naturally, I do not do it on my own and as I like. I discuss such matters, at least with the federal premier if this

concerns also the federal government—of course it concerns it. In appointing and recalling ministers, national governments, however, are not part of my duty. If it is in the sphere in which I have things to do, if I recall someone or appoint someone, if I accept a resignation, a report is issued.

And if the report is printed, everyone can read it.

[passage omitted: Hungarian Radio question concerning Gabcikovo dam]

[Havel] As for Gabcikovo, we made a clear agreement with the Hungarian side when we were there, which was gratefully accepted by the Hungarian side, and the sort of strange plot which emerged there was finally unraveled. [passage omitted: teams are working on the solution to this problem] The monstrosity which is standing there cannot be pulled down. A system must be worked out to salvage nature, to salvage what is possible and to give some sort of meaning to what is standing there. Two expert commissions, or a mixed commission, are striving to do this intensively, and they will provide the results of their study to the government of their countries who will then further discuss the fate of this, so to speak, gigantic monument of the past.

[passage omitted: question by MLADA FRONTA as to advice to a citizen who wants to stand in the elections but does not want to join any political party; Havel replies that people can express their views about this in the free press; question on German unification]

[Havel] There has been some kind of misunderstanding. I did not say that I do not want a neutral or nonneutral Germany. I said that there is a need to tackle the European problem as a whole which has many varied aspects and angles. I have been, I am and I will be in favor, wherever it may be, of some sort of comprehensive solution, fast if possible, but comprehensive. This includes, naturally, also the manner of German unification, its future participation in some sort of European security system. However, this is a very different issue, a more complicated issue than the question of whether Germany will be neutral, or Hungary or some other state. Switzerland is already neutral, so its problem has been solved. However, nothing wil be solved in Europe if things are not solved altogether.

[Sirota, RUDE PRAVO] Mr. President, you said yesterday that those who talk about inflation and unemployment, well, that one should not pay attention to them. Are you also thinking of the 13 percent of citizens who, in yesterday's result of the Gallup poll, and at home, are afraid of unemployment? I should like to add: Can you assure these citizens and all the others that there will not be any wide-scale inflation or unemployment?

[Havel] Naturally, when I issued the warning against those who spread, for reasons that they know better than we do, alarming reports, I was not thinking of the 13 percent, but those among the 13 percent who spread such rumors. So that it is clear. If you ask whether there is going to be inflation, if there will be unemployment, price increases: Many times, and clearly, this government has said in its program statement, including other documents and ministers' press statements, that we are trying to effect a peaceful transition from lack of economy to economy, without social upheavals, without sudden misfortunes, without unemployment, without any social crises and so on. If the price of cigarettes or something is going to go up, well, I do not know this at the moment. At the moment there are no attempts to change the prices of anything, at least in the coming few months. We are certainly not preparing any gigantic price increases or even unemployment, as the panic mongers are systematically spreading—nothing like that. [passage omitted: Mr. Hrabovsky mentions his visit to Bratislava, Havel on election law; Havel answers question on impressions of Jane Fonda]

Havel Expects Bilateral Talks on Boes Dam

LD1302191590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian
1730 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] In Prague, President Havel has held an international news conference. Evelyn Forro reports: [passage omitted]

[Begin Forro recording] I asked the president how he replied to those people who, two weeks ago, had protested in a letter against the construction of the Boes dam. He said: As regards Boes, we made a clear agreement with the Hungarian side when we were there. It seems that we have managed to dissolve the Gordian knot which has developed around Boes. In the coming two to three months, environmental protection experts and economists will prepare a study as to which path would be the most favorable. Seeing as we have constructed this ugly, hulking cement monster, it cannot just be dismantled. A solution must be found whereby nature is saved, and some sense is given to what is standing there. The committees will submit the results of the investigations, along with the opinion of foreign experts, to the two governments who will then hold talks on this mistake of the past, this gigantic inheritance—said the Czechoslovak head of state in reply to the question from Hungarian radio. [end recording]

Dlouhy Surveys Economic Reform

AU1302131990 Vienna KURIER in German
13 Feb 90 p 8

["Exclusive" interview with Deputy Premier Valdimir Dlouhy, head of the CSSR Planning Commission, by Jana Patsch; place and date not given]

[Text] [Patsch] Mr. Deputy Premier, when will you abolish the Planning Commission?

[Dlouhy] It is my goal to transform this mammoth organization into a modern economic institution, which works independent of the market economy.

[Patsch] Who is taking over coordination?

[Dlouhy] Probably an economic ministry, which is to be recruited from the Planning Commission and the individual branch ministries. This will take place in one year at the earliest.

[Patsch] The responsible economic experts of your country claim to be following the path into a free market economy without social disruption, as in Poland and Hungary. How are you doing this?

[Dlouhy] By consistently implementing three packages of measures. These days the government has already passed quite a number of laws. This is to establish the legislative basis for privatization and competition. The dissolution of the state enterprises must take place in line with a program. The initiated reform of the banking sector with the transition to the convertibility of the currency is the next step. This also includes the planned tax reform. Only then can price control be released. This is to prevent too high an inflation.

[Patsch] Much is being said about industry, but no one is talking about the reforms in agriculture.

[Dlouhy] Agriculture was celebrated as a success. The price for the degree of self-supply is high: 55 percent of the subsidies are used for foodstuffs production and only 13 percent for housing construction. The peasants have achieved a high standard of living without doing much work. We now observe a contradictory phenomenon: No one really wants his land back, which was subjected to forced collectivization in the past.

[Patsch] Almost half of the joint ventures in the CSSR are agreements with Austrian companies. What will change for foreign investors in the future?

[Dlouhy] At present foreign entrepreneurs are discriminated against compared with domestic ones. Not only are they not able to transfer their profits and have tax disadvantages, they also do not have access to some raw materials, which are distributed by the central authority. This is to change. We want to establish a foreign currency fund for the transfer of profits.

[Patsch] You will soon go to the United States together with President Vaclav Havel. What type of help do you hope for?

[Dlouhy] We need help for our system, from customs duties to preferential loans, in order to manage to get into the world markets. In addition, we need much humanitarian aid: Send us 100,000 text books for English or German, wheelchairs or hearing aids for handicapped people, invite our students for exchange programs. With this you would help us very much.

Federal Office Issues Social, Economic Report

AU1402100190 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 10 Feb 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Last Year's Excellence and (Rather) Inadequacy; From the Report Issued by the Federal Statistical Office on Social and Economic Development in the CSSR in 1989"]

[Text] With the lapse of 1989, a prolonged era of Czechoslovakia's economic development founded on principles of central and command management has come to an end. This era had been distinguished by high raw material, energy, and labor intensiveness, by sluggish technical development, by distorted prices, by excessive redistribution, by the lack of independence and motivation of producers, and—in the final analysis—by an insufficient level in meeting the needs of individual citizens and the whole of society. The heritage of the past is considerable; it does not only have a matter-of-fact framework, it also represents an established system of dependencies and regulations.

The extensive method of management coupled with a two to three times higher relative consumption of raw materials and energy than in advanced countries is a considerable burden on the environment. We find ourselves at the forefront of European countries in the amount of harmful pollution elements that we emit (for example, we are in second place in emissions of sulfur dioxide per square km and in third place in emissions of nitrogen oxide). Pollution of waterways has reached critical levels, and combined with a long-term decline in precipitation, this has become a limiting factor in making use of water resources.

An unfavorable environmental situation together with a way of life deformed by grave shortcomings in the economic system has negatively influenced the development of general demographic indicators. Average life expectancy has been stagnating for decades and our position on an international scale has significantly worsened. While at the beginning of the 1960's we lagged behind the country with the highest average life expectancy, Sweden, by four years for men and 2.6 years for women, at present we are lagging behind the first placed country, Japan, by eight years for men and six years for women.

Czechoslovakia's long-term economic performance has developed to the detriment of future generations. This is borne out, for example, by backwardness in the technical level of our fixed assets: machinery, buildings, and equipment. By the end of 1989, their state of aggregation had reached 3.7 billion korunas (at purchasing prices); however, they have an unfavorable age structure. The average age of machinery and equipment is rather high—almost 11 years—the level of wear and tear on the machinery already exceeds 57 percent of its life expectancy. The situation is very serious in some previously neglected areas of economic and social life, particularly in the nonmanufacturing sphere. It is not much better in

less preferred manufacturing branches; for example, the level of wear and tear on the machinery in the printing industry has reached 61 percent of its life expectancy.

Low intensiveness in the economic mechanism is manifested by slow growth in the technical standards of machinery and equipment and by their insignificant utilization. Therefore, it is not surprising that while, given the labor force, technology has increased (roughly, four percent annually) and exchangeability is stagnating, the efficiency of fixed assets is declining.

Why There Is an Economic Imbalance

The command system of management brought about an economic imbalance characterized on the one hand by a shortage of goods, and on the other hand by excessive inventories. The volume of inventories has continued to increase and has already exceeded the annual level of generated national income. The high demands made on inventories by our national economy is considerably higher than in developed market economies.

For a long time the efficiency of our commercial exchange with the world has developed unfavorably. With the increased cost of imports and the low competitive ability of our products on world markets, our exchange parity has worsened in the long-term, especially during the second half of the 1970's and the first half of the 1980's. This parity has declined by 30 percent since 1970. The reduction in prices per kg of Czechoslovak products exported to West European markets bears this out even more truthfully. While in 1960 our price per kg reached almost half the average world price, it is currently less than a quarter. It is obvious from this that in order to guarantee the same volume of imports we have to export even more of our national labor.

A nominal and covert growth in domestic prices together with unfavorable development in exchange parity in foreign trade are among the immediate reasons for the gradual decline in the purchasing power of the Czechoslovak koruna.

The decline in the social prestige of qualifications and specialist education is, at a period of accelerated scientific and technical development on a global scale, particularly dangerous. In recent years the number of students accepted at our universities has stagnated and, on an international scale, in numbers of students per 1,000 people we lag far behind countries such as Austria, the FRG, Belgium, Sweden, or Denmark.

So much for a brief outline of the results of the previous era of development, results with which we are entering into new socioeconomic conditions. The last year of this period, 1989, did not fundamentally differ from previous years. The rate of economic growth declined slightly in comparison with 1988. Dynamism in creating the gross national income, according to preliminary estimates, fell from 2.8 percent in 1988 to 1.7 percent in 1989; compared to this, the gross domestic product of developed states with market economies grew, according to preliminary estimates, by 3.6 percent. In connection with this, it is necessary to say that current methods of monitoring price development do not reflect the covert movement of prices and the real dynamism of our economy's growth may be slower than stated.

The reasons for the slowdown in the rate of economic growth lie, in particular, in the slower downward trend of material intensity in production and also in the lower rate of industrial production. In connection with the reduction in arms manufacturing, general engineering production has declined. The rate of development in the electrotechnical and food industries and in the manufacture of health care products has lingered behind declared intentions. On the contrary, the extraction of ores, mining production, and the output of some other raw material intensive branches has not been reduced. However, it is possible to favorably evaluate the relatively high increase in the output of light industry.

Just as in previous years, capital investment was a source of tension in the economy. In connection with the disproportionately long construction deadlines, the time lag between salaries being paid to employees in supplier organizations and the buildings actually under construction impacts on the domestic market in an inflationary manner.

While our indebtedness at the end of November to nonsocialist states reached roughly $7.4 billion, in relation to socialist countries we act as a creditor with an overall amount of outstanding debts amounting to 43.5 billion korunas.

The Standard of Living and the Environment

The disharmony between needs and asset formation is reflected in the standard of living. The requisite improvement was not achieved in satisfying the population's specific needs.

By the end of the year, 7,868,000 people were working in the national economy; of this number, 41 percent were working in tertiary sphere branches. In developed countries this ratio is around 50-70 percent. In 1989 the growth in employment slowed down; an increase of 30,000 employees as opposed to the previous year was recorded. The number of employees increased only in citizens' individual activities when providing services on the basis of permission granted by national committees; in the state and collective sector employment declined overall. It increased in communal services branches (by 10,000), in education (by 10,000), in health care (by 7,000), and in domestic trade (by 6,000). The labor force's mobility increased; employers had a turnover of 580,000 permanent employees (that is, 9.1 percent of the overall number) in comparison with 480,000 the previous year (7.5 percent).

Nominal cash income increased by 3.3 percent. Revenue from salaries increased by 2.7 percent, from agriculture and the sale of agricultural products by 3.8 percent, and from transfer payments by 5.9 percent. The population's

real cash earnings, as a consequence of an increase in the cost of living index, grew by only 1.8 percent. However, if we take into consideration covert inflationary movement, which is not reflected in the cost of living index, it is possible to assume a stagnation in real earnings.

Almost a Million Poor People

Despite the growth in households' cash earnings, more than 320,000 households in 1988—households in which almost 900,000 people live (roughly 6 percent of citizens)—had a per capita net monthly income of less than 1,000 korunas, that is, on the margin of social necessity. Among the households with the lowest incomes are, first and foremost, households with the highest number of children and nonworking pensioners—that is, the oldest people.

The situation for one-parent families, of which—according to the results of a micro-census in the CSSR—there are almost 180,000, is also particularly difficult. Their average monthly income per capita amounts to 1,399 korunas; however, one-fifth of these families have a per capita monthly income of 1,000 korunas or less.

The average monthly gross salary for employees in the state and collective sector in 1989 amounted to 3,218 korunas and, contrary to the previous year, increased by 2.4 percent; employees' average monthly net income (after tax had been deducted from salaries) amounted to 2,620 korunas. At the same time, 12 percent of the overall number of employees in full-time employment (almost 800,000 employees) receive gross monthly salaries of up to 2,000 korunas; 35 percent of employees receive salaries between 2,001 and 3,000 korunas; 30 percent receive salaries between 3,001 and 4,000 korunas; 15 percent receive salaries between 4,001 and 5,000 korunas; and 8 percent receive salaries over 5,000 korunas. Differentiation in salaries has not intensified.

Workers make up, roughly, half of all employees earning the largest salaries; the other half is composed, first and foremost, of employees with a higher level of education and with many years of experience. The average gross monthly income of working women is 2,602 korunas; for men it amounts to 3,714 korunas. Women are mainly employed in branches with a lower salary level.

The population's consumption increased by 3.5 percent. The breakdown on foodstuffs, industrial goods, and services is 95:43:22 and is, in comparison with the structure in West European countries, characterized by the high ratio of expenditure on foodstuffs and the low ratio of expenditure on services. Expenditure on services in Czechoslovakia is also lower due, partially, to the consumption of services financed from the state budget.

In 1989 measures came into effect regulating loans and, in this connection, the amounts borrowed by the population from state savings banks (only 13.9 billion korunas as opposed to 15.8 billion the previous year) declined significantly. The slump in the level of savings continued (from 3.7 percent in 1988 to 3.6 percent in 1989) although deposits grew by 12.1 billion korunas. Average savings per citizen amount to 17,755 korunas.

Prices Have Increased

The unbalanced economic situation is graphically reflected in the situation in the domestic market, a situation which is characterized by a disproportion between supply and demand, especially in industrial goods and services. The rate of growth in retail turnover, at current prices, slowed down during the course of the year; however, it was still relatively high. In 1989 retail turnover increased, contrary to the previous year, by 3.7 percent; it increased in foodstuffs by 1.4 percent and in industrial goods by 5.6 percent. Accrual is, to a certain extent, created by an intangible growth; retail prices (including public catering) increased by 1.4 percent.

Not only changes to the individual prices of goods and services had an effect on the development of retail prices, but, first and foremost, a variation in the range of goods—in which attempts by manufacturers and manufacturing organizations to shift their products onto higher price levels were apparent—also had an effect. This is borne out by an increase in the average prices of some groups of goods sold. During 1989, average prices increased significantly; for example, the price of vegetables increased by 9.8 percent; milk by 10.3 percent; automobiles by 17 percent; ovens and stoves by 11,2 percent; radio receivers by 11.4 percent; underwear by 7 percent; outer wear by 7.4 percent; bicycles by 7.9 percent; and two wheel motor vehicles by 5.7 percent. The reasons for this development lie, first and foremost, in the change to the structure of supply; sometimes this offers a new quality of goods (for example, in the expansion of the sale of long-life milk), but often these reasons are also connected with the high level of production monopolization and the method of determining prices applied to date.

Tourism developed very dynamically last year. By the end of 1989 an overall total of 29.6 million people had traveled to the CSSR; the number of Czechoslovak citizens who had traveled abroad amounted to 8.6 million people during the same period. The number of one-day visitors from Hungary and the GDR continued to be high; the number of one-day visitors from Poland, the USSR, and Yugoslavia who had come for the purpose of buying (and selling) inappropriate amounts of consumer goods increased significantly. In some regions these purchases disrupted the standard of supplies to the local population.

In 1989 94.5 billion korunas, that is, 5.3 percent more than 1988, was expended on social security, including provisions for pensions and health insurance.

Pension allowances, which account to 65 percent of the overall social security allowances, increased by 6.9 percent as opposed to 1988, first and foremost, due to the legal amendments applicable from 1 October 1988 and to the increased number of pensions paid out.

At the end of 1989, 197,800 beds were available in health care facilities. During the year, the overall number of beds increased by only 281; in vital types of health care facilities the number even fell. This works out at only 7.9 beds in our hospitals for every 1,000 people. Capacity in clinics for the chronically sick has increased significantly in the last few years. This increased by 379 beds in 1989.

The number of doctors has increased by 303. For every 521 people there is one doctor in out-patient facilities for therapeutic and preventative care.

While in the 1970's an average of 126,000 new apartments were built every year, after 1986 the average fell to only some 82,000. Last year the number of completed apartments increased against 1988 by 6.4 percent; however, 9,443 fewer apartments than planned were completed. Of the completed apartments, only 77.8 percent of them were approved.

Investments devoted to environmental protection amounted to more than 4.9 billion korunas in 1989 (that is, 2.9 percent of the overall volume of investment projects and supplies). At the same time, every year the CSSR releases into the atmosphere approximately 2.7 million tonnes of sulfur dioxide, one million tonnes of nitrogen oxide, roughly the same volume of solid materials and carbon dioxide, and 0.2 million tonnes of hydrocarbons. Czechoslovakia occupies the leading place in Europe in the volume of pollutants it emits.

Compared to 1986, emissions of solid materials have declined by approximately 15 percent; this is due, first and foremost, to the reconstruction and modernization of existing desulfurization plants and to bringing new ones into operation. A reduction in emissions of sulfur dioxide by approximately 4 percent was influenced, first and foremost, by cuts made in the consumption of fossil fuels as a consequence of the relatively mild winter. Emissions of the other main polluting materials were not reduced.

Demographic Development

Changes in our way of life and a greater orientation toward the material substance of the standard of living in almost all European countries, including Czechoslovakia, are being manifested in the long-term and significant decline in the numbers of children being born. In the CSSR the number of children being born has fallen steadily since 1975. In 1989 208,000 babies were born—the lowest number since the declaration of an independent Czechoslovak state in 1918.

For every 100 live births in the CSSR there are 88 abortions; in Prague and Bratislava the number of pregnancies ending in abortion is higher than the number of live births.

Also alarming is the increase in the mortality rate. In 1989 180,000 people died in the CSSR; this corresponds to the long-term average. For more than 20 years average life expectancy has been stagnating in the CSSR, while in the majority of European and non-European countries it has increased significantly. At the moment, the average life expectancy for men is only 67.8 years and 75.3 years for women; it is one of the shortest in Europe.

There were 118,000 weddings, and 40,000 marriages ended in divorce. In 1989 the number of divorces was the highest ever recorded. The largest divorce rate continues to be recorded in Prague and in the North Bohemia and West Bohemia regions. By 31 December 1989 the number of inhabitants in the CSSR was 15,651,000; 10,363,000 in the Czech Socialist Republic and 5,288,000 in the Slovak Socialist Republic.

The Structure and Dynamism of Asset Formation in the Main Manufacturing Branches

The Czechoslovak economy has at its disposal considerable research and development potential. However, the results achieved do not testify to this. Last year 205,000 employees worked in the research and development base; their number has remained at the level of the previous year. Only 56 percent were involved in research and development intended to embrace the overall broad range of Czechoslovak products. Expenditure on research and development activity amounted to 24.6 billion korunas.

New products accounted for 5.9 percent of the overall volume of production last year; this means that the time required to alternate the entire range of goods is approximately 17 years. The share of products which received the Q rating of highest quality amounted to 0.9 percent of the overall volume of new products. This has not changed since 1988.

Civic Forum, PAV Request Progress Report

LD1302221190 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1830 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] At Prague Castle today, Vaclav Havel, president of the republic, received a delegation from the Civic Forum Coordination Center and the Public Against Violence Coordination Committee.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker in Czech] Esteemed Mr. President, our nonviolent revolution has given to the citizens of the CSSR a realistic hope for a better country which is now in a very poor state. After the first weeks of enthusiasm a period of some uncertainty and destabilization, particularly in the national economy, enevitably follows. We have a fair idea of the state of the CSSR after four decades of rule by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. However, we believe it necessary for all of us to be acquainted with the true state of the country as soon as possible. The path of rectification cannot be based on illusions and unrealistic conceptions. We consider realism, never mind how bitter it may be, as an elementary and honest way to renew a democratic and prosperous CSSR.

Essential changes in the composition of the state and economic apparatus are carried out in some places in an uncontrolled and ill-thought-out manner. Today our country does not need to have its problems hushed up. It needs a resolute approach, cooperation by all, and it requires attention to be completely focused on shortening the dangerous period of instability and continuing economic decline, which may be natural but which is also dangerous.

Civic Forum and Public Against Violence [PAV] are therefore appealing at this moment to you, president of the republic, and through you to the federal government and to the governments of the two national republics with this urgent demand: An objective and honest report on the state of the country should be presented to the public as soon as possible. The governments should concurrently announce what kind of specific steps are being taken to prevent the reduction of efficiency and other unfavorable phenomena. A program of economic reforms must be submitted as soon as possible. The public expects this. Thus the federal government faces an unavoidable task to evolve from the government of national understanding into a government, which will without delay—as early as before the elections—start the process of national renewal. Civic Forum and PAV are ready to support the government in implementing the reforms and demand that it produces them in the interest of society.

[Havel] I thank you for your letter. It expresses the feelings, concerns and hopes, which I myself hold. I promise you that as far as I am able, I will devote my attention to your initiative. I have a feeling that the things which you call for will perhaps materialize soon. There is yet another reason to pay attention to your initiatives. Although I am president of all our citizens, you will recall that it was Civic Forum and PAV which nominated me for this post on behalf of the public. This obliges me to pay extra attention to what is brought to me by these two organizations. [end recording]

Ministerial Resignations; Havel Fills Vacancies

Pinc, Two Others Reported Leaving

LD1202210890 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] According to unofficial reports, the following ministers are to leave the federal government: Frantisek Pinc, minister of fuel and power; Frantisek Podlena, minister of transport and communications; and Ladislav Vodrazka, minister of metallurgy, machine-building and electorical engineering.

We asked government press spokesman Zbynek Fiala if this is true, and secondly, if this could be the result of differences of view within the government.

[Begin Fiala recording] A question which is quite long and complex. I cannot as yet say anything about the first part, but concerning some kind of a split—I have not witnessed anything like that. I am sure I would know about such things. [end recording]

The government will be in session the day after tomorrow; then we could learn more. We also spoke today to Mr Pinc. He confirmed he has submitted his resignation, one reason being differences in the examination of specialized matters in his sphere.

Mr Podlena, on the contrary, in a telephone conversation, said that he does not intend to resign, and that no one has asked him to do so.

We have not been able to get in touch with Mr Vodrazka.

There are also speculations emerging which link the entire issue with the CPCZ membership of all three ministers.

Three Ministers Appointed

LD1302203490 Prague CTK in english 1909 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 13 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel today put Slavomir Stracar in charge of the Federal Ministry of Metallurgy, Engineering and Electrical Engineering, after Ladislav Vodrazka handed in his resignation.

President Havel appointed Jaroslav Suva minister in charge of the Federal Ministry of Fuels and Energy, to replace Frantisek Pinc who resigned. Vladimir Prikazsky was appointed minister without portfolio. The new ministers took their oath today.

Biographical Information Provided

LD1302205490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1830 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Excerpts] President Vaclav Havel today appointed three new ministers. Slavomir Stracar is minister of metallurgy, engineering and electical engineering; Jaroslav Suva is minister of fuels and energy; and Vladimir Prikazsky is appointed a minister without portfolio. [passage omitted]

Slavomir Stracar was born in 1935 in (Stelnice), Trnava district [Slovakia]. He studied at the high school of mining, and in 1959 he graduated from the Urals Polytechnic Institute in the Soviet Union. He worked as a director of a rolling mill in the East Slovak steel works in Kosice. In January 1970 he was expelled from the Communist Party. He stayed with the steel works, working as a metallurgy worker with no opportunity of advancing to a management post or travelling abroad. He is a recognized specialist and also an inventor. In January this year he became director general in the East Slovak works in Kosice. He is also a Federal Assembly deputy for Public Against Violence.

Professor Jaroslav Suva was born in 1930 in Temice, Pelhrimov district. He graduated from the high school of economics in Prague. He worked in various power

generating plants, and since 1 November last year as deputy minister and chief of the energy department in the fuels and energy ministry. He is a member of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party].

Vladimir Prikazsky was born in 1935 in Prague. He completed his studies at the grammar school in Skalice. He was not granted an opportunity to study at a higher educational establishment of humanitarian orientation because he is a distant relative of Vladimir Clementis. [Clementis was executed in the purges of the fifties] After his compulsory military service he completed an apprenticeship in mining. His work was broadcast by the radio, which hired him as an editor in 1958. In 1970 he was expelled from the CPCZ and released from his job. Until last year he worked as a driver of heavy construction machinery. He is one of the founding signatories of Charter 77. In January this year he became a director of LIDOVE NOVINY publishing house in Prague.

Dienstier Addresses 'Open Skies' Conference

LD1302103890 Prague CTK in English 0910 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Ottawa Feb 13 (CTK)—"Czechoslovakia welcomes the open skies proposal and gives it its full support," Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier said at the current conference devoted to the open skies proposal here yesterday.

Czechoslovakia does so because after important changes in its society it is decided to contribute to universal confidence building and to progress in the disarmament process in which a precise and thorough control is the basic prerequisite, it does so because the proposal corresponds to the requirements of maximum transparency of military activities and military organizations, and also because according to Czechoslovakia, open skies will strengthen significantly collective security, which is what Czechoslovakia seeks, Jiri Dienstbier stated.

"We would like the open skies project to become gradually open to all states of Europe and to result in such a system of measures of confidence which would have really all-European and gradually global character," Jiri Dienstbier underlined.

"The conference on the 'open skies' proposal is very important because it is in fact for the first time after decades that a principle of free flights and air inspections is to be introduced which is an important measure to strengthen confidence," Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier told CTK here.

If airplanes of Warsaw Treaty member countries are allowed to fly over territories of NATO member countries and vice versa and to control the state of armament and military equipment of the other side, it is in my opinion a very important step towards disarmament, he added.

On the other side, it is, in my view, a symbolic act and it reflects the mental state of the world because at present states discuss something which has been true for many years. For thirty years, satellites have been able to provide most detailed information. It is an absurd aspect, nevertheless a positive one, that states are able to discuss this matter at all and are resolved to reach an agreement, Jiri Dienstbier underlined.

The Czechoslovak foreign minister further stated that Czechoslovakia wishes for a dynamic development in Europe in the conditions of stability. "The Czechoslovak Government of National Understanding does not, however, believe that this stability can be preserved or even strengthened by maintaining the status quo. We proceed from the fact that the conception of blocs should be replaced by a model of plurality," Jiri Dienstbier said adding that the dissolution of blocs is not possible immediately but that there should exist political will to overcome this conception.

"The existence of blocs today helps the disarmament process. Therefore in this stage we agree with those representatives who want to preserve blocs as an instrument making the process of disarmament easier. This should be their last chief task in the continuing development towards democracy," the minister stated.

He said that the Helsinki process is a tested instrument for the transition from the conception of blocs to that of democracy and plurality and Czechoslovakia will strive for this process to gain a new quality corresponding to the political, economic, humanitarian and security situation in Europe at the turn of the third millennium. In this connection the minister underlined the necessity of successful results of the Vienna talks of 23 states on conventional armament in Europe to be achieved as soon as possible so that the negotiators could be given a new and far more resolute mandate.

Jiri Dienstbier also stated that Czechoslovakia welcomed with great satisfaction U.S. President George Bush's proposal for the reduction of Soviet and U.S. forces in Central Europe. "The limit of 195,000 men makes it possible to solve the wish of those states, including Czechoslovakia, which do not consider it necessary to have foreign forces on their territories," the minister said.

Dubcek Address Notes 1968, 1989 'Milestones'

LD1102012990 Prague CTK in English 1815 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Bratislava Feb 9 (CTK)—"The twenty years of normalization in Czechoslovakia have by right led to the deepening of crisis and a new necessity of solving it, but at a different level than in 1968. The two milestones—1968 and 1989, though in different ways, are linked with the fundamental ideas of democracy, humanism, freedom and sovereignty", Czechoslovak Federal

Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek said here Friday addressing the 21st meeting of the Slovak National Council.

He pointed out that a new revolutionary process, in which Czechoslovakia's international authority should rise, has come into existence. The country's prestige of 1968 has remained in the conscience of the world public.

Alexander Dubcek further underlined that the politically compromised people without moral credit, careerists with power ambitions have caused great difficulties in society. That is why many of those, who have led the society to a deep crisis, had to leave their posts. "Nevertheless, I am of the opinion that the current democratic process should not become a 'witchhunt'", he said.

He pointed to the necessity of finding new contents to the activities of the Czechoslovak Federation. Deformities in relations between the Federation and the republics must be removed, democratic principles must be strengthened. This process should result in the adoption of a new constitution of the Federation and the two republics. "Speaking about the common European home, we must build our own one at first", Alexander Dubcek said.

Party Representatives Suggest Election Changes

AU1302152990 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Feb 90 p 2

[CTK report: "On the Electoral System"]

[Text] Prague— Representatives of the decisive political forces—the Czechoslovak People's Party, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the Democratic Party, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ], the Freedom Party, and the Civic Forum—met in the Valdstejn Palace in Prague 7 February with a group of experts from the Federal Government to discuss the nature of the future system of local representative bodies and elections to them. They arrived at the following preliminary conclusions:

a) It is necessary to substantially enhance the self-administration of towns and villages as one of the fundamental prerequisites to the development of democracy in our country.

b) They recommended that elections to local representative bodies be held on 23 and 24 November 1990.

c) They recommended the abolition of Regional National Committees and the delegation of most of their legal powers to District National Committees, their complete elimination, or—in exceptional cases—their transfer to the central bodies of state administration. Furthermore, they recommended that a number of legal powers of District National Committees be delegated to Local National Committees or City National Committees.

d) They recommended a reduction in the number of Local National Committee and District National Committee deputies.

e) They considered several variants of electoral systems to be applied in elections to representative bodies at various levels but have failed as yet to reach a consensus on this issue. The Civic Forum advocated a majority system for elections to Local National Committees and District National Committees. The Freedom Party proposed a majority system for elections to Local National Committees and the system of proportional representation for elections to District National Committees.

The Czechoslovak People's Party, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, and the CPCZ expressed themselves in favor of the system of proportional representation for elections to national committees at both levels. The Democratic Party proposed that this issue be addressed at roundtable talks of the decisive political forces in Slovakia.

Stepan Activities Probed in 17 Nov Investigation

LD1202163590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] The Parliamentary Commission for Overseeing the Investigation of the Events of 17 November was today given the latest information available by the staff and military section of the Czech Socialist Republic General Prosecutor's Office.

Colonel Petr Dite, investigator for the Military Prosecutor's Office, told journalists that the investigation of 17 November, accusing members of the National Security Corps who took part in the action, was completed by 1 February. Two members of the commanding group, in custody before being released, will be prosecuted.

Dr. (Ales Kubak), member of the investigation group of the General Prosecutor's Office, pointed out that there was no causal connection between the behavior of Miroslav Stepan and people being brutally beaten at Noradni Trida. Despite this, Miroslav Stepan is being prosecuted for the criminal act of conspiracy to abuse his authority as a public official. For his part, it is a case of issuing unsuccessful directions to commit this criminal deed. The entire case is complicated with regard to its content, and also legally. Witnesses do not remember much. Dr. Kubak did not exclude the possibility that in the week after 17 November some Security Corps documents, including tape recordings, were prematurely destroyed. Justified suspicion of Miroslav Stepan continues, and so does the investigation. The Parliamentary Commission demands its acceleration, but the defense has rights in the criminal proceedings, which it is fully utilizing.

Minister Calls for Specialized Crime Center

LD1202154190 Prague CTK in English 1405 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 12 (CTK)—The need to set up in Czechoslovakia a centre specializing in fighting against narcotics, terrorism and organized crime was stressed by Czechoslovak Interior Minister Richard Sacher here today.

During his inspection at the Federal Crime Center, Minister Sacher said it is necessary that Czechoslovakia renew its membership of Interpol and enter into other bilateral contacts.

The minister was told by head of the anti-Narcotics Department Major Kamil Klastersky that he believed drug smugglers used Czechoslovakia only for transit as a large market and money is lacking in this country. At present, there are around 7,000 registered drug-addicts in Czechoslovakia, which is a relatively low number in view of its population, compared with the world. About 40 to 45 deaths as a result of inhaling toxic substances are registered every year, mostly among young people around 20, Major Klastersky said, stressing that no persons addicted to such substances as heroin, cocaine, hashish and lsd are registered in Czechoslovakia.

Sacher Comments on Border Crossing Issues

LD1002123190 Prague Television Service in Slovak 1830 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Richard Sacher, federal minister of the interior, paid a visit today during his working visit to Bratislava to the members of the river detachment of the border guards. During a discussion on duty performance, they talked, among other things, about the continuing problem of illegal border crossings.

[Begin Sacher recording in Czech] The Austrian side is asking us to ensure vigilance over our frontiers. Well, when our citizens find that the borders are open, they think that they can cross the borders where they like. That is not so easily possible; frontiers will be frontiers, and sovereignty of the state is conferred precisely by the fact that it has some kind of territory of its own and that, if someone wants to cross the borders, they will do so only where it is allowed. As far as this is concerned, we will therefore have to pay attention to educating the citizens and tell them that they cannot simply say, "I shall pack by bags, decide I like it somewhere else," and up and go.

Plenipotentiaries representing ourselves and the Austrian sides will meet to discuss these questions. I think that it should be sometime soon, around the 12-16 February. They will tackle these questions, as well as small-scale border contacts, and also other possible crossing points. We think that small-scale border contacts should first be established just for weekends because, well, our economy cannot endure everything, and if the market gets out of balance, what shall we do then? We have to protect ourselves. If it is any good we shall make further steps on both sides. [end recording]

CPCZ Officals To Lose Supplementary Payments

AU1202151890

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 9 February on pages 1 and 15 carries a 1,000-word interview with Igor Tomes, LLD, candidate of sciences and CSSR deputy minister of labor and social affairs, by Jana Vyborna, entitled "Without Unwarranted Prerogatives." The interview, the date and place of which are not given, deals with the work of a CSSR Government commission investigating the justification of previously awarded "individual pensions." Tomes says that of the 37,000 individual pensions that have been awarded in Czechoslovakia until last year, the commission deals only with those exceeding the sum of 2,200 korunas per month, which is the case in approximately one- third of all these pensions. As Tomes reveals, starting this February, former Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] functionaries and People's Militia members stopped receiving state funds supplementary payments (ranging between 400 korunas and 800 korunas per month, depending on the length of their work in the party apparatus), which used to add to their pensions. He notes that it is up to the CPCZ whether it will continue to provide these supplementary payments from its own funds.

According to Tomes, the Government commission has also drafted a proposal under which pensions exceeding the sum of 3,800 korunas a month (the maximum legal pension) would henceforth be restricted to the president, the chairman of the federal assembly, government members, the chairmen of the Czech and Slovak national councils, the supreme court chairman, and the prosecutors general. Until now, the number of these pensions exceeded 450 and the beneficiaries also included, apart from constitutional officials, leading representatives of the CPCZ and other political parties, as well as former leaders of social organizations.

The interview with Igor Tomes is followed by a 200-word "tom"- signed report stating that an unspecified CPCZ Central Committee official has told RUDE PRAVO that the CPCZ does not intend to provide supplementary payments to the pensions of its former functionaries, as "the party does not avail itself of any funds from which it could add to pensions stipulated by law."

Stur Society Responds to Hungarian Forum

AU1202170690 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Feb 90 p 5

[Unattributed report: "A Positive Attitude Toward Our Homeland Is Lacking; Let Us Seek Mutual Respect"]

[Text] The Hungarian Forum of Citizens District Coordinating Committee in Galanta formulated its demands

and published them on page 3 of the district weekly VITAZNA CESTA [VICTORIOUS PATH] on 11 January 1990. We quote them for reasons of objectivity. The point of view of the Stur Society Coordinating Committee in Bratislava follows these demands.

Demands:

1. Constitutionally guaranteed equality for members of the Hungarian minority living in the CSSR.

2. A free Hungarian press.

3. Guaranteed personal and collective rights.

4. After free elections, we demand Hungarian civic representation in legislative and executive bodies and in independent courts.

5. Public condemnation of the open, as well as the concealed oppression of nationalities by all Slovak governing organs.

6. Self-determination and autonomy for Hungarian education and culture.

7. The introduction of real bilingualism and the equal use of Hungarian in business, workplaces, and in personal and social life.

8. Support for everyday Hungarian history, science, culture, and folklore. A guarantee of free contacts with the Republic of Hungary.

9. Free administration of property and the return of wrongfully confiscated land.

10. A free homeland, peaceful coexistence, the establishment of a European house, and a real home.

Point of View of the Stur Society Coordinating Committee:

Despite the fact that the contents of some of the demands are identical to the nationwide changes under way—and to forthcoming changes—or alternatively, that they fall exclusively within the internal affairs of the Hungarian minority—we assume Slovak legislative and executive bodies to be the most probable recipients of this petition.

The first three points contained in the demands may be regarded as more or less operative and valid laws which will, undoubtedly, intensify with the gradual infiltration of revolutionary reforms.

Apropos point four: To date, there has been a proportionate representation of Hungarian citizens in the state's highest decision-making structures. The recent establishment of the post of deputy Slovak Socialist Republic premier for nationality issues and the appointment of a Hungarian Slovak National Council chairman has qualitatively highlighted this proportion; therefore, there is no reason for anxiety or dissatisfaction.

Apropos point five: If the issue involves proven oppression, then this demand is imperative; of course, it is applicable on both sides.

Apropos point six: We think that, to a certain extent, the aims of this demand applied in the recent past. If deformations occurred in the educational and cultural systems in Hungarian districts, it is necessary to understand them as a reflection of the deformations of nationwide ideology which affected all of us, regardless of nationality. However, in no way will the artificial association of these problems with Slovak nationality policy toward the Hungarians stand up.

Apropos point seven: It is not made clear whether "real bilingualism" is intended for the Galanta District (or rather the nationally integrated south) or for the whole of Slovakia. First of all, we note that in southern districts, due to the supremacy of the Hungarian minority, Hungarian is not being wiped out in favor of Slovak, but, on the contrary, an unequivocal dictat is applied here to the detriment of the Slovak part of the population. This can be confirmed by bitter, everyday experience on all the above-mentioned communication levels. In a hypothetical case involving the introduction of "real bilingualism" throughout Slovakia any kind of discussion on the reality, or rather the unreality, of this proposal is absurd and unfounded.

Points eight, nine, and ten are general proclamations which, during the so-called gentle revolution, were raised on behalf of all CSSR citizens and whose practical implementation will be legally established in the new CSSR Constitution and in the Slovak Socialist Republic Constitution. Our comment only concerns the "free administration of property" and the "return of wrongfully confiscated land," where it is not even indicated on which economic or regional criteria they are to be understood. Perhaps, after these ideas are specified and more clearly defined, it will be more straightforward to summarize all these demands in one word: autonomy.

Only a few short words in conclusion: The desire to establish a real home in the common European house should not be perceived only on the level of "pious wishes" but, first and foremost, on the basis of a positive attitude to our state configuration—in other words, our homeland—where we all live. In this very connection, we are not indifferent to the fact that in not even one of the 10 points this—not only physical and spatial, but especially normal—appurtenance of the Forum of Hungarian Citizens to the CSSR is not at all apparent. We are convinced that dealing with this issue is the first step which some Hungarian citizens should undertake to explain their own identity and their place in Slovakia.

Hromadka Meets Israeli Officials, Holds Talks

LD1302071290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Report by (Tomas Kulka) in Jerusalem]

[Text] Dr. Josef Hromadka, Czechoslovak deputy federal premier arrived in Israel for a one-week visit at the same time as Moshe Arens, Israeli minister of foreign affairs, arrived in Prague to sign an agreement on establishing diplomatic relations. Dr. Hromadka was invited by Zevulum Hammer, minister of religious affairs. Apart from specialized advisors, Josef Hromadka was accompanied by Daniel Maier, chief rabbi of Czechoslovakia. Minister Hammer asked Dr. Hromadka that Jewish monuments in Czechoslovakia be restored and that appropriate honor be paid to the memory of the thousands of Czech and Slovak Jews murdered in the Nazi concentration camps. The talks passed in a very friendly and informal atmosphere. Dr. Hromadka also visited the cities of Bethlehem and Nazareth and several kubbutzes founded by Czechoslovak countrymen, including the kibbutz after Tomas Masaryk. He also met premier Yitzhak Shamir and Yitzhak Navon, minister of education and culture. Today he will meet Moshe Arens, minister of foreign affairs and deputy premier Shimon Peres.

Foreign Ministers Agree on Unification Talks

LD1302213890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2102 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Ottawa (ADN)—The foreign ministers of the four Allied powers, as well as the two German states, have agreed in Ottawa on talks concerning German unification. It was said from diplomatic circles on the sidelines of the "Open Skies" conference in Ottawa that a corresponding document is due to be exchanged between the foreign ministers of the United States, the USSR, Great Britain, France, the FRG, and the GDR.

Fischer Addresses Meeting

LD1302223890 East Berlin Television Service in German 1847 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] During the meeting in Ottawa, where 23 foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact and NATO participated, the German-German issue became a main subject in light of the current situation. GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer discussed that subject when he gave an address there:

[Begin Fischer recording] European security, stability, and community of responsibility are in the basic interest of both German states. Their growing together under the Germans' right of self-determination, in cooperating with the Four Powers, and taking into account the interests of all European states, must toe the line within that process. [end recording]

Contrary to the Western position reaffirmed here in Ottawa—that a reunited Germany must belong to NATO—the minister suggested that the GDR and the FRG reduce their military potentials step by step, that foreign forces be withdrawn from their territories, and that the two states leave the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

Modrow Welcomes Declaration

LD1402111490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1050 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Bonn (ADN)—GDR Premier Hans Modrow has welcomed the declaration of the foreign ministers conference in Ottawa. The premier told journalists in Bonn today that this is the right course to reconcile the interests of the two German states and of the Four Powers and to bring about an accord with the pan-European development. [passage omitted]

Modrow Greets Plan for Talks

AU1402105290 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1000 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow has welcomed as basically right the intention of the four victorious powers of World War II to discuss the implementation of German unity. Following talks with business representatives this morning, Modrow told journalists in Bonn that it was right on principle that the Four Powers' interests were considered in connection with the road to German unity. He said that with the statement of the four foreign ministers, a basis for the international aspect of the problem had been created.

The foreign ministers of the United States, the Soviet Union, France, and Great Britain agreed in Ottawa on 13 February to discuss the implementation of German unity with the FRG and the GDR. They are thereby largely following a proposal made by Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, under which the two German states will agree on a concept following the People's Chamber elections on 18 March, and coordinate it with the victorious powers.

Further on Modrow-Kohl Talks in Bonn

LD1302121690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1113 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—Following their private talks together in the Bonn Chancellery today, to which the closest advisers of the two statesmen were at times brought in, GDR Premier Hans Modrow and FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl met for joint talks with the remaining members of their delegations in the NATO hall.

Hans Modrow told journalists after the private talk with the chancellor that it took place in a businesslike atmosphere. Several interesting projects, which were on the table, were discussed. However, so far nothing has been firmly decided. There are no results as yet. Possible results would be decided in the next hour in the extended meeting of the two delegations. Hans Modrow said he hopes urgently that there will be positive results for both sides. He stressed that he is aware of his responsibility.

Chancellery Minister Seiters confirmed that the private talks took place in an open and good atmosphere. The FRG Government is interested in the GDR's stability. It is now up to the negotiating partners to set the right signals.

GDR Deputy Premier Christa Luft, who met with Federal Economics Minister Helmut Haussmann for talks, told correspondents that she had given a briefing on the GDR's many plans for reform in the economic field during the round of talks. The many steps taken by the GDR in order to accommodate the FRG over the past few months were mentioned. In response to a journalist's question on whether the decision by the GDR's roundtable had caused the talks to be strained, Mrs. Luft replied that the opposite was the case.

It has also become known from conference circles that the solidarity contribution amounting to between DM [Deutsche mark] 10 and 15 billion demanded by the roundtable had also played a role in the talks. The great complexity of this step was pointed out particularly in the context of questions and problems of monetary union.

It was suggested that experts should negotiate detailed steps for a monetary union. The GDR's demand, supported by the roundtable, that there must be a guarantee of social security as part of economic and monetary union also played a large role.

Talks With Other Officials

LD1302125990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1150 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Bonn (ADN)—There have been no concrete agreements as yet at the German-German sumit between GDR Premier Hans Modrow and FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Bonn today following the first tete-a-tete talks between the two heads of government. [passage omitted]

Parallel to the talks between the heads of government, meetings have taken place between Christa Luft, deputy premier responsible for the economy, and Helmut Maussmann, federal economics minister; the two construction ministers, Gerhard Baumgaertel and Gerda Hasselfeldt, respectivelt; and between agriculture ministers Hans Watzek and Ignatz Kiechle, respectively. Chancellery Minister Rudolf Seiters receive the eight ministers without portfolio from the ranks of the opposition.

It is reported from conference circles that the FRG solidarity contribution of 10 to 15 billion Deutsche marks, suggested by the roundtable, played a part in the talks. On question of monetary union, particular reference has been made to the great complexity of the step. It has been suggested that experts should negotiate detailed steps for monetary union. [passage omitted]

Outside the Chancellery there was an incident shortly before the arrival of the convoy of cars carrying Premier Modrow, when a passer-by with a placard recalled the murder of Jews during the fascist period. The placard, bearing the slogan "Germany united—land of the murder of Jews," was torn down by police. The reason given for the police action was that no demonstrations are allowed within the immediate vicinity of the seat of government. [passage omitted]

Modrow, Kohl News Conference

LD1302174790 East Berlin Deutschlandsender Network in German 1430 GMT 13 Feb 90

[News conference by FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl and GDR Premier Hans Modrow in Bonn—live]

[Text] [Kohl] Ladies and gentlemen, just being with you at the federal news conference shows that this was and is a very, very important meeting. It is the first meeting between the two governments, the government of the GDR and the federal government, and in this discussion we were all aware of the national responsibility, of the common German history.

As we are gathered here today, I want to recall that today it is 45 years since the large-scale raid on Dresden, which is a particular milestone in the suffering of our people. I did not say this without reason at the start of today's discussion, but in order to make our general responsibility clear.

The visit by Premier Modrow and his delegation and members of his government took place under signs that a few days ago no one could have expected.

We Germans now have the historic chance to complete the unity of our fatherland in free self-determination. Unity is now at last possible. It is up to us, up to the Germans, whether we seize this chance courageously and level-headedly.

The road to the goal of German unity was finally opened by General Secretary Gorbachev after our talk last weekend, and this talk was preceded by a talk with Premier Modrow in Moscow. The first thing I would like to say about that here is to express respect and thanks to the Soviet leadership.

I will quote what the Soviet news agency itself reported on the event. I quote from the extract: There are now no differences of opinion between the USSR, the FRG, and the GDR that the Germans themselves must solve the question of the unity of the German nation, and must themselves choose in what state, at what speed, and under what conditions they will form and realize this unity.

I would now like to state emphatically that for the Federal Republic this attitude of the Soviet Union and also of our partners in the West can on no account be a sort of license for going it alone as a nation.

German unity must be embedded in the architecture of the whole of Europe and in the entire process of East-West relations. No one has a greater interest in this than we Germans ourselves. We want to take into account the justifiable interests of our neighbors and friends in Europe and in the world. In this way the solution of the German question will mean a decisive gain in stability and security for Europe.

I have just telephoned the federal foreign minister, who, as you know, is at the conference in Canada. I assume that this afternoon the talks between the foreign ministers will lead to a positive result, that the Four Powers, the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain, and France, and the two German states will now start negotiations without delay in order to achieve agreements in the spirit of what I just said. Until the completion of German unity, we have a difficult path in front of us. There are fears, there are difficulties, there are problems, who will deny them; but I am sure that we will be equal to this challenge.

The talks took place against the background of a situation that has been significantly exacerbated by the great exodus of resettlers. The number of resettlers in 1989

totaled 340,000. Since the beginning of the year, that is, since 1 January, another 75,000 have come to the Federal Republic via the transit camps and, we have reason to believe, another 10,000 via direct contact with relatives, that is, approximately another 85,000. For this reason, I made clear in today's talks, on behalf of the federal government, first our repeatedly stated readiness to help in the short term, and it is particularly pressing for humanitarian reasons. The supplementary budget contains relevant measures for support. Federal Minister Waigel will gladly be available for questions on this. I will just quote the titles: a hard currency fund for travel, a European recovery program, training, technology transfer, environmental protection, improvements in transport, and medical equipment.

I want to make one thing quite clear. We are prepared to commit ourselves extensively for the people in the GDR so that they stay in their homeland and can help shape the economic new beginning there. This is a very decisive message to our fellow countrymen in the GDR.

Second: we are going quite a considerable step further. I have submitted an offer to Premier Modrow and the members of his government to begin immediate negotiations for the creation of a monetary union and economic community. For this purpose, a joint commission of experts will be formed that will start discussions without delay. We agreed that these talks could begin as early as next week. This means we want to act without any delay.

From our point of view, this offer consists basically of two parts:

1. On a given day, the GDR mark will be replaced as a currency unit and legal means of payment by the Deutsche mark.

2. At the same time, the GDR must create the necessary legal conditions for the introduction of a social market economy.

For the federal government both are indissolubly linked.

Politically and economically, ladies and gentlemen, this offer by the federal government means that we are prepared to respond from our side to unusual, let us say revolutionary, events with an unusual and, from an economic point of view, revolutionary reply.

About one thing there can be no doubt: In a politically and economically normal situation, the road would have been different—and indeed with many more steps—on the path to reforms and conformities. I am fully aware of the criticism of our path in the Federal Republic, but I say to all critics that faced with the drama of the development, this decision is, seen from our point of view, correct.

The critical intensification of the situation in the GDR now makes courageous responses necessary. Political and social upheavals have led to a dramatic shortening of that political time span from which I proceeded in my Bundestag speech on the 10 points. We spoke at that time of a treaty-based community. There was not even an election date. As you know, we spoke of confederative structures and the federation. We are now in a situation that no longer allows the first two stages to be realized.

In this siuation—and I say this with due consideration—it is a case of more than economic questions, however important they are. It must be a case of giving a clear, an unmistakable signal of hope and encouragement for the people in the GDR. For this reason we have made this offer to found a monetary union, an economic community as soon as possible.

For us in the Federal Republic, this means that in this offer we should deploy our strongest economic asset—that is, the Deutsche mark. We will share directly with the people in the GDR what has been built up here in the Federal Republic over the decades. The Deutsche mark is one of the most stable and generally accepted currencies in the world. It is the foundation of our prosperity and economic performance.

There is one point with regard to monetary union if the GDR itself intoduces comprehensive market economy reforms. It is specifically a matter of a specific stock-taking of financial facts and of securing—and I add this emphatically—of the tried and true policy of stability on the part of the German Bundesbank for this monetary region, of swiftly carrying out the economic reforms announced. I cite here the headings: Freedom of trade, rules of ownership, rules of competition, environmental protection, the wages and prices system, freedom in foreign trade, and—I am aware of this on the basis of certain GDR trade union movement resolutions over the past few weeks—in the course of a modern law on the constitution of enterprises, of workers in the factories taking a share of responsibility.

However, it is also a matter, above all—and that was a broad theme and joint concern in our talks today—of the necessary social support of these reforms with regard to the introduction of unemployment insurance and adjustment of the pensions system. Of course, when I speak of the latter I must speak of the fears of pensioners in the GDR for their savings. I stress that the social and ecological backing of this policy of reform is of central significance for me and for us.

It is our conviction that the economic difficulties hitherto can only be eliminated by restructuring that is backed up socially and ecologically, as well as by the market economy. We also want the stream of private capital made possible by this, and thus the expansion of new enterprises with a future, as well as jobs. There are highly encouraging signs here that we intend to promote actively. We are clear about the risks of this path.

We are also treading this path because the FRG's economic situation is extraordinarily favorable at the end of 1989, beginning in 1990. Above all, our large trade surpluses gain fresh significance with regard to the GDR.

To put it more clearly: If we are successful in steering a small part of our trade surplus of a good DM [Deutsche mark] 130 billion in the direction of the GDR, if we succeed in making available a small part of our annual export of DM 100 billion of capital, then this will be a great opportunity to bring about a decisive economic boost there. There is no fundamental shortage of goods and capital that can be used in the GDR for the new economic beginning. I have a very positive assessment of the readiness of the economy in the Federal Republic—and I should also add in the EC and in many countries outside the EC—to become involved in the GDR. There is a wealth of concrete agreements. We hope they will be translated into practice as soon as possible. Here the final and decisive word lies with the creation of the economic framework conditions in the GDR.

Ladies and gentlemen, I would like to say, also with regard to the discussion in the Federal Republic, that the motto for the period ahead, above all, over the next few months, must be: National solidarity. That is, I believe, a self-evident and a national duty.

A great and joint project in our hitherto divided fatherland is at stake. A peaceful future for a free and unified Europe is at stake. The German and European contribution to world peace is at stake. I can say for the Federal Republic that we will meet that responsibility. Our talk was, I would like to reiterate, marked by this spirit, even if, understandably, we by no means agreed on a whole series of issues during this first meeting. I already said that this is an initial talk. We will have to continue the talks, even, and of course, especially when the People's Chamber has been elected and the new GDR Government has been appointed.

[Announcer] That was the introduction by Dr. Helmut Kohl; and now Hans Modrow.

[Modrow] Mr. Federal Chancellor, ladies and gentlemen. First of all, I would like to thank the media for the attention it has shown for months now to developments in the GDR and with which it has followed these developments. Through the media, a historic process that has started a new chapter in German history has achieved worldwide recognition. A process of liberation from encrusted forms and unsuitable contents, which the people alone have effected, is, moreover, far from reaching its conclusion.

I must take this opportunity of calling to mind the fact that the unification of Germany is drawing closer. We should never forget that the people of the GDR are not only bringing into the unification the bitter defeat of actual socialism, but also that proud phrase "We are the people." I hope most deeply that this phrase and its political content are not lost. We should never forget that the GDR has assets to bring into a future Germany, intellectual and cultural assets that have grown over the decades in spite of everything, and material assets, of which the workers and engineers, the farmers and craftsmen, and even the so-called little employees need feel no shame.

Anyone who is quick and eager today to speak of an unstable GDR or its economic difficulties must ultimately also ask himself whether the price of unification will not be brought to weigh too heavily on the people. My government recognizes the substance of the GDR very exactly, and I say to you it is a very promising foundation—of hard-working people, able people, and, as is becoming increasingly clear, thoroughly creative people. Added to this, we have enormous fixed assets, which may require investment, but which are by no means completely antiquated.

I will mention just one figure. The net national property of the GDR amounts to 1.4 billion marks, including in the state property 980 million marks and 6.2 million hectares of unencumbered agriculturally productive land. There is therefore considerable scope for all that the federal chancellor indicated with reference to investments and future cooperation.

Today we held comprehensive and, I believe, also constructive talks on the steps now to be taken toward a German state. Here the problem of the gradual and step-by-step process of balancing remains that which the federal chancellor has also spoken of repeatedly in the past. That measure and an ability to assess the situation will continue to be needed.

It has become clear in these negotiations that there is, in my government of national responsibility, a unified standpoint that relates to the guarantee of the social possessions of GDR citizens. And here too there is agreement after yesterday's roundtable discussions in the GDR, the discussion material that we have also made available to the federal chancellor. It has also become clear that both governments must face up to necessity.

1. To see the steps toward unification in the European context, and also to anchor these steps inalienably in this.

2. To do all that is possible to ensure that immediately after 18 March, that is after the elections to the People's Chamber, the process of a relative convergence in the direction of economic and monetary union or economic community can be introduced.

As already emphasized, experts will begin their discussions and their work on this from next week. We therefore consider it to be urgently necessary, in order to prevent once and for all the possibility of surprises, that information is given and that concepts that are not clearly defined appear immediately in the media. Here it is essential that joint, informed work is undertaken.

3. It should once again be stressed that certain social securities should be provided immediately in order that pensioners and other sections of the population remain protected against problems. This also affects savings

accounts. There is also the assurance and the requirement that farmers should not need to worry about their land. It is still anticipated, as was voiced also by the roundtable yesterday, that the Federal Republic should make a solidarity contribution to the GDR. I see it as my continued duty to protect the interests of GDR citizens and to perceive joint, common interests with the citizens of the Federal Republic. Nobody should enter a future Germany with fear. It is therefore advisable to repeat the demand that everyone should now really remain in his ancestral homeland. All have prospects, all have opportunities.

Ladies and gentlemen, on 1 February I put forward a plan for the unification in stages of the two German states. Of course, we can discuss today how they should be fitted or organized together, but it will be, and will remain, necessary that we continue to advance with care and with perception. Ideas, including those relating to a future federal state, with laender on the present territory of the GDR, anticipate and demand, of course, thorough work. And here, too, it is assumed that a process must be introduced that is linked to the constituent work.

On 30 January, I had the opportunity to reach agreement with Mikhail Gorbachev in the Soviet Union that this unification is the right of the Germans and corresponds with the agenda. The GDR assumes that it is today, and will remain in the future, a partner of the Soviet Union. And the Soviet Union, for its part, as Mr. Federal Chancellor has just stressed, stated that it will deepen its relations with the presently existing two German states, and at the same time sees itself linked in the future with the development toward a unified Germany. It must also be stressed here that in all these development processes the international environment must be continually taken into consideration.

It is to be welcomed that the federal chancellor subsequently discussed his ideas in Moscow on the unification of the two German states and took note of the stated Soviet positions. Now it is important to work out and to introduce concrete steps. My government, as far as is possible, will work toward this until 18 March, and after 18 March, after the elections, the newly elected parliament and the newly elected government will surely also continue these steps, as can be seen from the programs and the plans of the different parties currently standing for election in the GDR.

Just as it has kept all the promises made in Dresden, so my government will continue to keep to this work and to this action. As far as the borders of the future German state are concerned in this connection, I understood from Mr. Federal Chancellor that in the talks that were held in Moscow and were linked to statements there, the Oder-Neisse border is also accepted, and the unification of the two states makes no claims on borders and their alteration with neighboring countries.

Allow me to conclude by saying that in the joint work of the two governments in this quarter year, more has been introduced and more achieved for closer ties and practical cooperation between the GDR and the FRG than in previous decades. Allow me also to stress that there has been no govenment in the GDR, and perhaps elsewhere as well, which has in so short a time created such a comprehensive program of laws and directives, which ultimately also creates the conditions for what is to be effected in the coming weeks and months. To this end, the efforts of both sides should be continued and intensified in order to create favorable conditions for the meeting of the two German states.

Modrow 'Disappointed'

LD1402115390 Hamburg DPA in German 1126 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Bonn (DPA)—GDR Premier Hans Modrow today expressed dissatisfaction with the results of his negotiations in Bonn. On the sidelines of his talks with representatives of the West German economy, he was asked by journalists whether he was disappointed. Modrow replied: "If you put it like that—yes."

"More could have been achieved if the work that had been prepared had been discussed," the GDR premier said. As it was, only a commission had come out of the talks.

Modrow on FRG Television

LD1302203990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1842 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow, in response to a corresponding question from ZDF [Second German Television] on Tuesday in Bonn following his one-hour talk with FRG Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker, stated that he did not see himself in Bonn as a sort of "receiver." He proceeded from the "responsibility that a GDR Government bears. It is not a case here of annexation, but of talks and negotiations on the future of the two German states and that in the end—we spoke about this, and it is viewed the same way by the neighbors, by the Soviets as well—will transfer into a unification." Both sides bear a national responsibility and neither should view the other in the way the question had suggested, Modrow said.

"That does not contribute to good on either side." Something new could come about for the people of today, "if, and that remains of course the question, in actual fact work is done very, very quickly and constructively with each other, and the time is past when irritations are caused." The GDR premier was referring thereby to the way in which his government was informed on the offer of a monetary union. In his opinion, work can now begin from which the GDR citizens could gain the conviction that approaches were being made to each other in mutual respect, and the federal citizen should know as well that a process has been introduced that is useful to both states and their people, and that will end in a common nation.

Solidarity is not a one-way street in this process, the GDR prime minister underscored, and spoke in favor of approaching each other in the sense of communality. It is a matter of enabling the people to feel that one means things seriously with one another. Asked what he had brought to Bonn, Modrow counted, above all, the results of his discussions in the Soviet Union. The sequence had been as follows, "that first of all the GDR prime minister was in the Soviet Union and conducted talks, and then the federal chancellor, and that we now have things, as it were, on common scales."

He assumes that certain problems and questions had by no means been settled by this meeting, Hans Modrow said in response to the ZDF question of whether he was disappointed with the outcome of the talks. To the enquiry of whether a commission of experts had been all that he expected, the premier answered by saying: "No, we had expected to hear information on what was happening in Bonn over the past few days and weeks." Modrow criticized the fact that things were publicized with commentaries only hours later. For example, no one in the GDR had raised the question of moving the elections forward to 18 March. This had come from Bonn.

Questioned on currency reform and currency union, which would possibly leave nothing of the GDR, he said that this cannot be the step. Rather there must be a gradual process, clear to all. It must be recognizable that the process of the two German states drawing closer together has nothing to do with Anschluss [annexation], but is responsible and justifiable for both sides. It must be made clear to the neighbors that things are progressing in the framework of the CSCE and that the process is not inconsistent with the interests of the European peoples. There can on no account be any haggling at the expense of the GDR. A process of unification should be introduced.

The question on whether or not there should be a neutral Germany was not answered today. Quite divergt interests have a role to play in the process. "The Soviet side has its considerations and the Western sides has its own." If it were possible to accelerate the disarmament process and to ensure that the question of neutrality was no longer linked to two states, but that disarmament should lead to a common European home, then this question would also be answered.

As far as political morality is concerned, he has, above all, national responsiblity in mind, that, given the existence of two states within one nation, always involves the responsibility of the two states. This also includes the international responsiblity of behaving toward Europe in such a way that the neighbors, particularly the French and the Poles, can maintain confidence.

Modrow Meets Vogel

LD1302202290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1907 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—Hans Modrow and Hans-Jochen Vogel assessed their one-hour or more talk at the Scandic Crown Hotel in Bonn this evening as open and constructive. The two politicians expressed the view that unity should be organized, above all, in areas that do not affect the sphere of the alliance. The two politicians expressed the view that unity should be organized, above all, in areas that do not affect the sphere of the alliance. The Social Democratic Party [SPD] chairman welcomed the formation of an experts' commission on questions of a monetary union, but criticized the federal government's lack of readiness for immediate aid. Vogel said he is "very disappointed" that the chancellor had not utilized the opportunity to give an unequivocal statement on the Polish western border before the world public, together with Modrow. Rather, he had repeatedly reverted to juristic formulas. "That is not doing the German process of unification any good," Vogel said.

A further topic of the meeting was the issue of German neutrality. Vogel said that it is certain that none of the neighbors, including the Soviet Union, would want a Germany with 80 million people to exist outside the structure of the two alliances. However, the alliances are still needed at present in order to advance the disarmament process and the European peace order. Solutions for this require clear concepts and a whole series of negotiations. In any case, the presence of U.S. and USSR troops on both sides would have to be taken into account.

Brandt Hosts Dinner for Modrow

LD1302214290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2110 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—The first day of the working visit by GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow to the FRG was concluded late on Tuesday evening [13 February] with a dinner hosted by Willy Brandt, honorary chairman of the Social Democratic Party and president of the Socialist Internationale. Both politicians met in the rooms of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in Bonn for an intensive exchange of opinion.

Further Reportage on Visit

For reportage on the visit by Premier Hans Modrow to the Federal Republic of Germany, including reports on his talks with Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, please see the Federal Republic of Germany section of the 14 February West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Gysi Calls Kohl Plan 'Election Tactics'

LD1302120590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1033 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Copenhagen (ADN)—"To assume that German unification could be achieved in 24 hours or one to two years is something reserved for the thoughts of the chancellor in Bonn, who is thinking in terms of election tactics," PDS [Party for Democratic Socialism] Chairman Gregor Gysi has told the Danish paper BERLINGSKE TIDENDE.

In all the political debates currently taking place and the plans that have been submitted, it should not be forgotten that Bonn is already in the middle of an election campaign. "It is being conducted on our territory, that of the GDR. Perhaps it is cheaper here than in the Federal Republic. But this leads to the acute danger that rapid solutions are offered that are totally unrealistic and only likely to create fear and frustration."

Gysi stressed that the GDR needs time "to adapt. For that reason a monetary link would be better than a monetary union."

Further Comments by Gysi

LD1302210490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2027 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In the view of the Party for Democratic Socialism [PDS] Chairman Gregor Gysi, it is not only the GDR that must reform and change in the process of unifying both German states, but the same demand also faces the FRG. A unified Germany is only conceivable for him as a demilitarized and neutral state in which the social achievements of the GDR also have a place, the politician stated at a party campaign event in Berlin-Koepenick.

In principle, the PDS is ready to come together with all leftist forces, Dr. Gysi said. The election campaign will also continue to be conducted by means of objective arguments and not at the cost of others.

Ministers, FRG Greens Assess Kohl's Stand

LD1302214290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2040 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—The ministers without portfolio belonging to the GDR delegation in Bonn are putting "their entire hope in the work of the experts' commission." This assessment was made today by Mathias Platzek of the Green Party in the Scandic Crown Hotel following a meeting with representatives of the Federal Exectuive and of the Parliamentary Group Executive of the Greens. Taking part on the GDR side were Tatjana Boehm of the Independent Women's Association, Sebastian Pflugbeil of New Forum, Gerd Poppe of the Initiative for Peace and Human rights, Klaus Schlueter of the Green League, and Wolfgang Ullmann of Democracy Now.

The interlocutors agreed that the GDR is due to be "bombarded into submission" by means of the refusal of immediate aid. The federal government clearly has a firm concept to influence from Bonn the peacefully running election campaign in the GDR. Tatjana Boehm rejected the FRG media's reporting, which had conducted massive attacks against political figures of the GDR, and had pushed them to one side. A rapid monetary reform was assessed as the task of the sovereignty of the GDR. Sebastian Pflugbeil conceded, however, that the opposition in the GDR still has no alternative to offer. In his opinion, the GDR Government is clearly giving up and is simply being steamrollered. The talks had shown that for Kohl the unity of Germany is just a technical problem. Social matters had been completely excluded. Instead, Kohl presented "simple-minded reasoning" and had impertinently passed over GDR problems.

Roundtable Positions on Kohl-Modrow Talks

LD1202184190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1720 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The roundtable today approved the following positions for the negotiations between Prime Minister Hans Modrow and Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl on 13 and 14 February 1990 in Bonn:

1. On the Situation

Those with political responsibility in both German states must now face up to the joint national responsibility. In the present complex situation, which is characterized by swift destabilization, they must show a maximum amount of political reason and should not be guided by emotions. The political developments must be kept under control and should remain comprehensible to the citizens of the two German states. The roundtable anticipates that the FRG, as the economically and politically stronger partner in the process of unification, should now do all in its power to counteract a further destabilization of the situation in the GDR, and should contribute to its easing. It is clear that some forces in the FRG are at present aiming for a deliberate aggravation of the problems in the GDR. In our view, this does not serve the interests of the FRG either.

At present, the most important thing is to ensure that GDR citizens remain in the country. The roundtable therefore expects that clear initiatives should emerge from the meeting of the two heads of government for an improvement in the GDR living conditions.

2. Economic Steps on the Path to Unity

The roundtable takes the view that we in the GDR must first and foremost fulfill our own responsibility for raising the efficiency of our economy. This requires a swift and consistent implementation of economic reform. Visible results in the interests of the people can, however, only be reached if the FRG now grants the solidarity payment already discussed in Dresden. We

regard a sum of 10 to 15 billion Deutsche marks as appropriate, and it should be paid immediately, irrespective of all further negotiations.

The roundtable is in favor of creating a joint German commission that will speedily work out proposals for the use of these funds.

As a result of its work so far, the roundtable insists that a commission of experts from both German states should examine and subsequently publish a paper on the possibilities, conditions, and effects of a currency union or a currency alliance. The government is therefore not ready to conclude a currency union at this time, because any overhasty arrangement would be to the detriment of the two German states. Before such agreements are concluded, all the arrangements, as well as the advantages and disadvantages, should be thoroughly discussed within a wide social framework.

The roundtable does not assent to prematurely sacrificing the GDR's financial sovereignty.

The roundtable demands that all measures for the solution of outstanding currency and economic issues should be linked to social security for the people of the GDR. To this end, what is needed is the immediate introduction of a social charter, which will secure social standards for the citizens of our country. These results should be integrated as a basis for adding a social alliance to the economic and currency alliance.

The roundtable also calls for the swift introduction of a trade union law, the creation of legal provisions for factory councils, land law and a law on cooperatives, which will secure in particular the property and social rights of farmers.

3. Political Steps Toward German Unity

On the basis of the negotiations conducted in Dresden between Premier Hans Modrow and Chancellor Kohl, the roundtable calls for all further political decisions to be based on a concept for the gradual and contractually regulated growing together of the two German states. The roundtable backs the creation of a joint German council to regulate the process of unification. This would be an important step toward German unity, which could be made now.

4. German Unity—European Security

The roundtable takes the view that the process of creating German unity must remain integrated in the process of Europe growing closer together and take account of the interests of the Four Powers and also those of all the European peoples. This interaction must be maintained. The process of German unification must not be divided from the European process through artificial overheating. It must promote the creation of a European peace order.

The roundtable requests the governments of both German states to work for convening a conference of the victorious powers of World War II with equal participation of the GDR and the FRG at the earliest possible date. This conference should carry out essential preliminary work for the next CSCE conference, in particular with reference to the German unification process.

The roundtable feels it is required that what has been achieved so far in the European process of detente should be preserved and supports the demand for a second CSCE summit, at the latest in September of this year, in order to accelerate the European process. A corresponding proposal should be tabled jointly by both German governments.

The roundtable supports the plans and proposals for a divergence of blocs, for a demilitarized zone in Central Europe, for a troop reduction of the national contingents, and for the withdrawal of foreign armed forces from German soil. The roundtable rejects any attempt to extend NATO, directly or indirectly, onto the territory of the present GDR. It is in favor of the governments and parliaments of both German states issuing a joint statement, after the People's Chamber election on 18 March 1990, on the recognition and security of the borders existing at present with the European neighboring states.

The roundtable draws attention to the fact that the GDR can provide important foreign policy experience that may be of significance for a bridging function between East and West. The comprehensive potential of economic, scientific, and cultural relations with the East European countries should be used.

Democracy Now Opposes Currency Reform

LD0902233290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1544 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR citizens movement Democracy Now rejects currency reform. This emerged from a statement published by the group on 9 February. It says: The motives of federal chancellor and CDU [Christian Democratic Union] leader Helmut Kohl are clear—he wants to give massive election support to the conservative alliance of the CDU, Democratic Awakening, and the DSU [German Social Union]. Kohl and his party friends in the GDR would therefore conceal the cost of a monetary union to the citizens in the two German states at this inopportune time. A currency reform would present a devaluation that would rob millions of citizens of their savings. [passage omitted]

The citizen movement calls for the immediate resignation of GDR Economics Minister Christa Luft, who is saying yes to everything, and for a sound and sensible economics and monetary policy. The citizens movement is against a maverick Germany and advocates an economic and monetary union within the framework of the EC.

Group's Political Goals

AU3101113290 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 22 Jan 90 p 1

[ADN/BZ report: "Reunification Not Through Anschluss with the FRG"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN/BZ)—The citizens' movement "Democracy Now" is striving for a transition from a planned economy to a socially and ecologically oriented market economy. This was confirmed at the first provincial representatives' meeting of the organization yesterday.

The program statements, which were adopted after three days of discussion, say that all forms of ownership are to compete with each other with equal rights. The citizens' movement, which has about 3,000 members, is in favor of social security and retraining in case of unemployment. Independent trade unions with the right to strike are to represent the interests of the working people as partners in wage negotiations with the heads of enterprises and combines.

A tense test occurred after Konrad Weiss declared his withdrawal from the movement because a passage on the Germany policy did not meet with a majority among the provincial representatives. This passage said that the time for political unity has not yet come.

After a debate, a passage was included in the program statements that says: The citizens' movement "Democracy Now" rejects the idea of bringing the two German states together through reunification in the form of an anschluss of the GDR to the FRG. The same goes for any attempt to realize or force this unity immediately. After this, Konrad Weiss stated his readiness to continue working in the movement.

Hans-Juergen Fischbeck, Konrad Weiss, and Wolfgang Ullmann were elected spokesmen of the citizens' movement.

Groups Oppose 'Hasty' German Unification

LD1002050190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1118 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The United Left, the Green Party, a minority faction of New Forum, the Carnations, and the Left Youth Ring and Alternative Youth Representation have spoken out against overly hasty German unification plans and national euphoria. At a news conference in Berlin today, these groups and organizations warned against harboring illusions that German unity would solve the far-reaching problems in the GDR. A speedy unification with the Federal Republic through an economic and currency union and alignment with the FRG's legal system would signify the end of the revolutionary process in the GDR, a joint statement supported by the Alternative List of West Berlin and the Greens in the FRG says.

1989 Economic Statistics Show 'Decline'

AU2712190589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Dec 89 p 6

[ND report: "For the First Time a Decline in Industrial Goods Production; On Economic and Social Development From 1 January to 30 November 1989"]

[Text] East Berlin—In November, work was done under complicated conditions in the enterprises, cooperatives, and institutions of the GDR. Through great efforts it was possible to maintain vital processes, states a report by the State Central Statistical Administration, which was presented yesterday. In detail, the following results were registered in November and since the beginning of the year:

In industry, industrial goods production in November was 2.5 percent lower than in November 1988. Thus, for the first time a decline had taken place compared with the same period of a previous year. The average number of workers and employees in industry in November was 53,800, that is, 2 percent lower than during the same months last year.

For the period from the beginning of the year to the end of November, production increased by 3.7 percent compared with the same period last year. However, the law on the 1989 national economic plan envisions an increase of 4.2 percent for 1989. Labor productivity increased by 4.3 percent on the basis of industrial goods production.

Performance Amounting to Almost 2 Workdays is Missing

The fulfillment of the production tasks in line with the required quality, ranges, and dates was not completely ensured. Backlogs in contracts further increased over the past months; in November they rose by M664 million to a total of M2.9 billion. This amounts to the production of almost 2 workdays.

The production plans were fulfilled or overfulfilled only in 61 percent of the total of 383 state plan items. The number of state plan items with production backlogs rose by 83 to 148 in November. This lead to disturbances in the cooperation relations, in supplies to the population, and in the fulfillment of export obligations in line with the contracts. The focal areas involved a number of consumer goods, as well as subcontractor production (in particular tires for private cars, asynchronous motors, high-voltage switch gear, electrical installation material, industrial gears, fittings, roller bearings, spare parts for agricultural machinery and tractors) and investment goods (among other things, electronic typewriters, foil memories, serial printers, cold-forming machine tools, agricultural machinery).

In the construction sector, building output in November was 8.3 percent below the level of the comparable month

last year. The average number of workers and employees was 15,000 less than in November 1988; this corresponds to 3 percent.

From the beginning of the year to the end of November, building output increased by 1.3 percent compared with the same period last year. The law envisions 2.1 percent. Labor productivity rose by 3.4 percent. Backlogs in contracts of the construction sector rose by M167 million to a total of M541 million in November.

7,921 Fewer Apartments Than Planned

Since the beginning of the year, 75,448 new apartments, 6,051 reconstructed apartments, and 2,213 apartments that had been restructured or extended have been completed. At the end of November, new construction of apartments had a backlog of 7,921 apartments compared with the plan; in November alone, 6,009 new apartments fewer than planned were completed. The plan was fulfilled only in Cottbus Area. The highest backlogs can be seen in Berlin with 2,287; Dresden with 1,085; and Leipzig with 887 new apartments.

Since the beginning of the year, 98,921 apartments have been modernized. The planned target has been exceeded by 3,221 apartments. Higher backlogs, however, were incurred in the areas of Leipzig and Gera. Building repairs of apartment houses have stagnated compared with the year before. A number of areas, in particular Frankfurt and Gera, have registered a decline.

New construction and modernization produced 14,108 places in kindergartens; 5,707 places in nurseries; 1,448 classrooms; and 88 school gymnasiums. Apart from Rostock, all areas have negatively deviated from the plan; these deviations considerably increased in November.

In agriculture, state procurement of animal products was up 45 kilotonnes of slaughter animals; 209 kilotonnes of milk; and 159.8 million eggs over the same period last year. The planned procurement was fulfilled in all areas.

According to preliminary results, the overall yield of the potato harvest amounts to 9.1 million tonnes. These are 21 decitonnes per hectare. In comparison, the average yield of the 1984-88 period was 251 decitonnes [as published] per hectare. Compared with the plan, a loss of 1.5 million tonnes, that is 14 percent, has been registered.

The preliminary total yield of sugar beets amounts to 6.1 million tonnes. With 283 decitonnes, the per-hectare yield is 34 decitonnes lower than in the average of the 1984-88 period. A total of 1.6 million tonnes, that is 21 percent, are missing for the fulfillment of the plan.

In November, the transportation sector carried more than 6 million tonnes of goods less than in November 1988; in total, 885 million tonnes had been carried since the beginning of the year. This represents 3 million tonnes less than during the same period last year; this trend is in contrast to the national economic targets. Despite intensive work by the railroad workers, backlogs were incurred in November, in particular concerning mass goods. In the period from 1 January to 30 November, domestic road traffic carried more goods than last year.

The new travel regulations caused an extremely complicated situation for the railroads. In November, the railroads carried 4.2 million persons—that is 8.5 percent more than in November 1988. An additional 1,770 passenger trains were used.

Of the 97 facilities within projects from the investment state plan that had to be put into operation according to plan by the end of November 1989, 86 have so far been put into operation. The 11 projects that were not implemented included:

—the fifth unit in the State-Owned Enterprise [VEB] "Bruno Leuschner" Nuclear Power Plants Combine, Greifswald;

—facilities for the production of dairy milk, fresh cheese, and butter in the Potsdam Dairy; and

—facilities for the production of bottles for foodstuffs in the VEB Thuringian Container Glass, Schleusingen.

Increase in Exports in General

According to preliminary data, exports both to the socialist countries and to the nonsocialist countries have increased since the beginning of the year, compared with the same period last year. For the first group, the annual balance in foreign trade is positive so far; for the second group it is negative. The backlogs in contracts for exports further increased in November in trade with the socialist and nonsocialist economic area.

Personal disposable income of the population rose by 2.8 percent. From the beginning of the year to the end of November, savings rose by M3.6 billion, even though in November withdrawals amounting to about M900 million were registered.

From the beginning of the year to the end of November, retail trade turnover rose by 4.2 percent at effective prices, compared with the same period last year. The law envisions an increase of 4 percent for 1989. Turnover of essential and nonessential foods and beverages rose by 1.4 percent. The sales outlets were not sufficiently and steadily supplied with meat, meat and sausage products, cheese, and vegetables everywhere in order to ensure availablity in line with demand.

Goods Turnover Rose by up to 63 Percent

Turnover of industrial goods rose by 6.9 percent since the beginning of the year; but in November 12.8 percent more industrial goods were sold than during the same month last year. In the sales outlets for industrial sales of radio and television, turnover even increased by 63 percent, and in those of the Household Appliances

Combine by 41 percent. This involves mainly color television sets, refrigerators, and washing machines. In November, the population bought more of these goods than were delivered by industry. Therefore, trade stocks diminished considerably.

At the end of November, the contracts concluded with domestic trade were not fulfilled for 117 of the 167 industrial goods items of the central supply plan. Backlogs in deliveries of finished goods for the population rose by M237 million to a total of M589 million in November. This applies, above all, to outerwear for women, men, and children, furniture, upholstered goods, lamps for apartments, perfume goods, cosmetics, and toys.

By the end of November 1989, the number of live births in the GDR amounted to about 183,000, that is 15,900 less than during the same period last year. This is the lowest number of births since 1976. From the beginning of the year until November 1989 about 186,000 people died; that is 7,600 less than during the first 11 months of 1988.

Further Declines in Jan 90

LD1302185990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1657 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The production level for each working day in the industrial goods production of the GDR sank in January 1990 by 5.6 percent compared with the previous January and by 2.9 percent when compared with December 1989. This emerges from a report from the State Central Administration for Statistics on economic and social development in January, which was published on 13 February.

The continuing large drop in the size of the work force and disturbed cooperative relations are blamed for the production decline. The work force decreased in January, in comparison with December 1989, by around 30,000 or 1.1 percent.

Exports in January for trade with CEMA countries declined by 10.8 percent and imports declined by 12.5 percent, compared with January 1989. Exports to capitalist industrial countries and the developing countries were around 1.9 percent lower, in real value, than in January 1989. Imports declined by 6.1 percent. The export surplus was $150 million dollars in January 1990. [passage omitted]

* FRG Daily Profiles Major Parties, Groups

90EG0151A Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 1 Feb 90

[Article by Jasper von Altenbockum, datelined Frankfurt, 31 January 1990: "On the Arduous Path from One Party State to the Pluralistic Multi-Party System"]

[Text] The GDR on the difficult path from a one-party state to a pluralistic multi-party system: as the campaign has already begun, more and more new parties are forming. And the old parties that have always been among the "friends of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany]" bloc parties are giving themselves a facelift. According to an interim overview published by the GDR Ministry of the Interior at the beginning of January, 13 parties were granted registration by that time. The ministry daily receives two to three new resolutions with which new organizations are announcing their arrival, it stated then. Unofficially, in the GDR there is talk of a total of 150 parties and reform groups, which has consolidated down to 64 in the meantime. The advanced date for the first free elections to the Volkskammer, which is now set for 18 March, will cause the new parties and political associations to continue to confront their division into tiny factions—and continue to confront the confusion of the voters. This is the direction of efforts by the following parties, which for the most part have already determined their election platform.

Citizens' Movement for Democracy Now. In a "call for integration in one body," from last September [1989], the citizens' movement calls for an alliance of Christians and "critical Marxists." Socialism must find its inherent, democratic form. In their election platform, the group orients itself to catch phrases such as "market economy," "German political unity" and "solidarity society." In mid-December, this group had already presented a three-stage plan that foresaw a plebiscite on the question of national unity for Germany after political reforms in the GDR. The Citizens' Movement later retracted these demands. They have now turned against any intention to "immediately effect and force unification."

Christian-Democratic Union (CDU). At their special party congress in mid-December 1989, the East-CDU broke with their past as a bloc party of the SED. The delegates struck the work "socialism" from the preamble for a draft position paper. This paper instead defines the party as a "people's party with a Christian profile" with the overriding goals of "justice, peace, and protection of Creation." As a radically renewed party, the CDU now favors a social and ecological market economy, the recreation of the East German provinces as well as the unification of Germany within a united Europe. The attorney Lothar de Marziere was confirmed in his position as party chairman. He replaced Gerald Goetting in November and is a deputy to Prime Minister Modrow. Thuringian Upper Church Counsel Martin Kirchner was elected party general secretary. In order to minimize the possibility of splintering the vote in the conservative camp in the GDR before the Volkskammer elections, Maiziere proposed an election alliance with the German Social Union (DSU) and the Democratic Awakening (DA).

Democratic Awakening (DA). Since its first party conference that took place in Leipzig in mid-December, the DA, which was originally intended as a collective movement, has become involved in powerful confrontations

over policies regarding Germany and social and economic matters. At the founding party congress, Leipzig attorney Schnur was elected chairman of the DA. He has sought contacts with the CDU and CSU [Christian Social Union] in West Germany. In a "Leipziger Program," the DA has endorsed the "right of the Germans for unity" which must develop via a federation of states ultimately into a federal form. The "vision of a socialist order of society" was struck from the program, which instead calls for a social-ecological market economy. The left wing of the party, around the theologian Schorlemmer, had already wanted a stronger observance of "ecosocial" forces at the Leipzig party congress. Schorlemmer has since left the DA.

Democratic Peasants Party of Germany (DBD). As a "renewed" party, the DBD has hardly ever stepped forward previously. At a special party congress, the party broke with its past as a bloc party. The past party chairman, Volkskammer president Guenter Maleuda, accepted a share in the responsibility for the crisis in the GDR before the congress delegates in East Berlin. The Farmers Party has drawn a sharp line between them and the SED, and in the future will favor a social market economy and German unity. The special party congress reelected Maleuda to his office.

German Social Union (DSU). Twelve liberal-conservative groups have consolidated into a non-socialist alliance of five state associations in the DSU. The basis of this consolidation is the common goal of the unity of Germany and the introduction of a social-market economy in the GDR. The DSU is striving for a "great citizens' bloc" for the East German elections. Among the parties belonging to the DSU are, among others, the Christian Social Party of Germany (CSPD), the Christian Social Union (CSU) that had already merged with the Free German Union (FDU), as well as various "forum parties." The chairman of the DSU, which is recognized by the West German CSU as a "sister party," is the Leipzig pastor Hans-Wilhelm Ebeling. He was formerly chairman of the CSPD.

Free Democratic Party in the GDR (FDP). The FDP in the GDR was founded in the beginning of January in East Berlin and several GDR bezirks. Its goal is "a humane society directed towards quality of life and sustaining the environment, a society with a market economy," as it reads in the founding declaration. In its Germany policy, the FDP stands for "full integration" of the GDR into the European market and the world market, as well as the "state unity of the German people in peace and freedom." The FDP will be constituted for the entire GDR on 4 March. In the first state-wide delegates meeting last weekend [27-28 January] in East Berlin, German economic union by the end of 1990 and the reunification of Germany by 1992 at the latest were named as goals of the party. The FDP says it is maintaining contacts with FDP state organizations in the Federal Republic.

Green Party. In its founding declaration last November, the Green Party in the GDR described itself as "ecological, feminist, and against the use of force." It demands immediate action for the "ecological disaster areas" in the GDR, "general and complete disarmament," the dissolution of military alliances and the reduction of the National People's Army to the minimum necessary defensive level. The "Stalinist-formed treatment of people, the economy and the environment" must be overcome. The Green Party constituted itself against the resistance of the "Green League" in the GDR, which sees itself as an extra-party cover organization for the environmental movement in the GDR. It wants to participate in the Volkskammer elections. The "Green League," which is having its founding congress next weekend [3-4 February], is, like the Green Party, for an ecological reformation of the GDR and for state assistance for "ecological disaster areas."

Liberal-Democratic Party of Germany (LDPD). For the LDPD, "the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, above all in its deviate Stalinist form" stood in the past in opposition to the "consequential implementation of liberal policies" in the GDR. This is stated in the draft of a new election platform for an old bloc party. This party sees itself as responsible to the traditions of the German middle class. It speaks out for "actively overcoming German division in a peaceful European order," for the social market economy and for support of private entrepreneurs and smaller businesses. Manfred Gerlach remained party chairman after the "turn," too, which he has been since 1967. He has announced his withdrawal from politics. A new chairman is to be elected at a special party congress in early February; the likely nominee is predicted to be Kurt Wuensche, who is the current Minister of Justice in the GDR.

National Democratic Party of Germany (NPDP). The NPDP sees itself in its recently selected election platform as a "party of the center," whose "anti-Fascist tradition" as a bloc party should now be placed in the service of an active German policy. The party presents a schedule that foresees the unification of Germany by 1995, after the formation of a confederation. It states in the election platform that the conditions for state unification are, however, freedom from (military) blocs and the demilitarization of Germany. The election party congress elected Wolfgang Glaeser as new party chairman of the NDPD. He replaced Guenter Hartmann, who had himself recently stepped forward as a replacement for the veteran party chairman Homann.

New Forum. According to its records, the "New Forum" is the largest opposition movement in the GDR with about 200,000 members. At a delegates' conference at the beginning of January, New Forum decided not to change into a political party but rather to act as a "grass-roots-oriented" movement in the GDR that wants to act to support the "implementation of a thorough and grass-roots-oriented democratization." The decision to not participate as a political party was confirmed at the association's founding congress. In its

program, the "New Forum" demands a "solidarity society," in which social justice and pluralism must be provided, as well as an ecologically oriented market economy in the GDR. After a heated debate, the delegates spoke out for a plebiscite in both German states to decide on the question of German unity. A splinter group from the New Forum calls itself the German Forum Party (DFP), which has mostly found members in the southern portion of the GDR. It was founded last weekend [27-28 January] in Karl-Marx Stadt. As a moderate party of the political center, it wants to be active for an ecologically oriented market economy and German unification. The delegates called on the party leadership to begin talks with the Democratic Awakening and other parties in the GDR, in order to form an election alliance for the elections in March. The graduate engineer Juergen Schmieder was elected DFP chairman.

Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD). The first delegates' conference of the party, which has in the meantime gained a membership of 70,000, took place in East Berlin in the beginning of January. The party founding platform was discussed and the name "Social Democratic Party in the GDR" was dropped. With their new name, the party associates itself with the social democratic tradition in Germany that was interrupted by the forced unification of the KPD (Communist Party of Germany) and the SPD [Social Democratic Party] in 1946. At their founding assembly on 7 October 1989, the Social Democrats in the GDR called on the "the European socialist and social democratic tradition of democratic socialism" in a preliminary article. The founding assembly elected the historian Ibrahim Boehme as their executive director. The goal of the party is a social democracy with an "ecologically-oriented market economy with democratic controls over economic power." In its Germany policy, the party orients itself to the West German SPD, and calls for a confederation of the two German states, which would already be possible in a time "when the alliances still exist." The social democratic "sister party" of the SPD in the GDR was accepted in the Socialist International as an observer and has formed a "joint committee" with the West German SPD.

United Left. In their Boehlen platform, the United Left called out in September, 1989, for a "left, socialist alternative" in the GDR. Later, it designated itself as a collective movement that could range "from unions and independent workers' interest groups to Antifa (anti-Fascist) groups, autonomous ones, the new KP (Communist Party) or the Federation of Independent Socialists to student circles." At the roundtable, the United Left came forward with the demand to designate the GDR as a "socialist state of the German nation" by constitutional law. Along with the United Left and the SED-PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism], there are several parties that want a "renewed" socialism. Among them is the party "The Carnations," which constituted itself as a Marxist party in the beginning of January. They too approve of a market economy, but want to hold onto a "social planning framework" for the economy to "insure meeting the needs of people." The KPD has also reformed itself. A "Spartacus Workers Party" wants to make a Soviet republic out of the GDR. They are followers of Lenin.

Former SED Official Released From Custody

LD1302194990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1638 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Gera (ADN)—Herbert Ziegenhahn, former first secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Gera Area organization, was released today from investigative custody. Area State Attorney Frieder Eisenreich stated to ADN that the doctors treating him had established him to be unfit for prison. The investigations against him will be continued. [passage omitted]

NDPD Chairman 'Regrets' Liberal Alliance

LD1302140490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1156 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—NDPD [National Democratic Party of Germany] Chairman Wolfgang Rauls regrets the formation of the liberal electoral pact "League of Free Democrats" in the GDR. In a message to his party's members today, he reacted to the rejection of an offer by the NDPD of an electoral alliance of all national and liberal forces in the GDR. He sees the alliance of the GDR's FDP [Free Democratic Party], the LDP [Liberal Democratic Party], and the German Forum Party formed on 12 February as confirmation "of the fact that for these parties the electoral pact has only superficial significance and that the main thing is their emerging into a party throughout Germany as soon as possible."

His party sticks to the view "that our country needs a broad democratic force of the political center of liberal and national character in the interests of important groups of the electorate." If the national ideas of the NDPD are not visibly classified as being part of liberal thought for voters from the political center, than the traditional national opinion of his party must even more so gain a place in parliament in order to be helpful to the people on its path toward the state unity of the nation.

Defense Minister Bars Campaigning on Bases

LD0902225890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2003 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Minister of Defense Admiral Theodor Hoffmann today ruled out the possibility of election campaign meetings inside [military] barracks. In preparation for the People's Chamber elections, the leadership of the GDR National People's Army is, however, trying to create the possibilities for all Army personnel to acquaint themselves with the programs of the political parties and movements, he said during a visit to units of the tank troops.

The minister was informed about the conditions under which Army personnel are fulfilling their constitutional tasks. Regular soldiers expressed their concern about the future development of the GDR and the Armed forces. At the same time, they expressed their readiness to contribute to stability and security in the heart of Europe.

Decree on Enterprises With Foreign Participation

LD2501151990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1339 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Economics Minister Dr. Christa Luft said at a government news conference on 25 January that the government has passed the decree on the founding and activity of enterprises with foreign participation.

Based on the decision in principle made on this by the People's Chamber, the foreign capital share may be up to 49 per cent. It can be higher if the objective of the enterprise justifies higher foreign participation in the interests of the national economy or if it is a small or medium-sized enterprise.

The authorization procedure will be drawn up as simply as possible.

Government Approves 'Full Freedom of Trade'

LD2501152390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1408 GMT 25 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Government has adopted regulations for full freedom of trade. In the words of government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer, they open up "every possibility for full freedom of trade by private enterprises, crafts and trade firms in the interests of economic stabilization and growth promotion as well as rapidly effective services." Restrictions of all types that stand in the way of business initiatives will be lifted through new legal foundations.

Decrees have already been issued by the Council of Ministers on eliminating restrictions on licenses and on the number of employees in private crafts and trade enterprises, and also on revoking fees for the import of production equipment for the crafts and trades. Further measures for independent activity in foreign trade and so on are being prepared for adoption in April. These include the establishment of an efficiency-improving tax ruling for crafts and trades.

Newspaper Published in Hannover Appears

LD2601183390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0933 GMT 26 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Leipzig (ADN)—WIR IN LEIPZIG [We in Leipzig], the first German-German newspaper, appeared in the city today. The newspaper informs on local and supra-regional events on 32 pages. The paper, published near Hannover, is trying to attract readership with political independence and a large services section. It regards itself as a services enterprise. WIR IN LEIPZIG was distributed free of charge to the city's households today. [passage omitted]

The paper is to appear weekly from 9 February. From mid-April it will be published daily.

New Leipzig Independent Weekly Issued

LD3101205690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1800 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Leipzig (ADN)—It will be at the kiosks on 1 February and it was already being distributed on the streets of Leipzig this evening: the LEIPZIGER ANDEREA ZEITUNG, an independent weekly newspaper from the Forum Publishing House in Leipzig. The LAZ, which has a print run of 40,000, and its editors are close to the thoughts of New Forum but it is expressly pointed out that this is not a publication by that citizens' movement. [passage omitted]

New Independent Paper Published in Erfurt

AU0202170290 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 2 Feb 90 p 15

["Sto" report: "Independent Newspaper in Thuringia"]

[Text] Frankfurt, 1 February—The THUERINGER ANZEIGER [Thuringian Advertiser] has now been published in Erfurt as "the first independent, non-party paper for all Thuringians since the founding of the GDR." The newspaper, which will be published weekly at first but soon is to become a daily, is a joint venture of young Erfurt businessmen with the WESTFALEN-BLATT in Bielefeld, where the newspaper is printed for the time being. The first print run of 100,000 copies at the price of one mark was sold out within one day, according to the publishing company. The THUERINGER ANZEIGER is to be distributed in Thuringia from Erfurt.

Schmieder Elected German Forum Party Head

LD2701204590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1500 GMT 27 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Karl-Marx-Stadt (ADN)—37-year-old Dr. Juergen Schmieder is head of the German Forum Party. The academically trained qualified engineer in heating, ventilation, and air conditioning technology was elected by a majority at the constituent party congress in Karl-Marx-Stadt today. He was a member of the initiative group to form the German Forum Party. [passage omitted]

Police Trade Union Founded 20 Jan

AU2901082990 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Jan 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Police Union Founded"]

[Text] Berlin—A unified trade union of the staff members of the Ministry for Internal Affairs was founded in Berlin on 20 January by the overwhelming majority of the more than 600 delegates from all areas of the GDR.

United Social Democratic Party Forms

AU3101142990 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 24 Jan 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "For a Democratic Socialism in the GDR"]

[Text] Many people who read these lines will remember the name USPD [United Social Democratic Party of Germany].

On 6 April 1916, such a party was founded once before. It was founded as an alternative party for an independent policy in the interest of the working population.

If one looks back on history, one sees mistakes and inadequacies in the party's policy, but one also remembers the courageous advocacy against the war- loan draft, the decisive participation in the Essen Commission of the Nine for the socialization of mining, the Provisional Revolution Committee of 1919, the USPD mass demonstrations for the right to co-determination of the workers' committees, or the party's active role in the general strike against the Kap putsch.

Men like Eisner, chairman of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council in Munich; Eichhorn, president of the Berlin police, who would not have arms aimed at the workers; Ernst Toller in the Munich Republic of Councils; but also Stoecker, Wilhelm and Bernhard Koenen, W. Florin, W. Boettcher, and Franz Dahlem, characterized the face of this party.

The newly formed USPD wants to continue the tradition of these actions, these men.

It continues these social democratic traditions at a time when our country is in a profound crisis that has spread to all fields of life, and when all established parties have not lived up to their responsibility toward the people. The USPD is in favor of most comprehensive accountability for past events, and of the unrestricted democratization of all spheres of social life. We are against anarchy, which tries to play down ethics and truth as negligible ideas.

Monitoring All Forms of Extremism

To give the revolution a purpose and heart at the same time means to monitor any form of extremism appearing with the revolution and to eradicate all Stalinist methods of leadership and guidance root and branch.

As an independent party, the USPD is struggling for the national interests of the GDR citizens.

What distinguishes us from the Social Democratic Party and the Socialist Unity party?

We are for democratic socialism!

We are for a democratic socialism that strives for a free, just, and democratic society; we are for socialism, which a party cannot establish.

How is this socialism reflected in the USPD program?

With a broad process of formation of will, which is based on a variety of opinions and is a public process, all citizens are to be included in all stages of the leadership of society, in particular in the entire process of decision-making.

Democratization requires new democratic structures in the political system, the immediate separation of party and state, the clear delineation of the responsibilities of the executive branch, the legislative branch, and the judiciary. A new constitution is essential.

The unqualified principle of the rule of law is to be ensured in all relations. The individual and social rights are to be comprehensively guaranteed in their unity and mutual interdependence through efficient juridical guarantees. This includes the freedom of expression, the general right to demonstrate, and freedom of conscience. A consistent democratic legal and judicial reform is to be implemented as soon as possible. Legal protection of one's person is to be guaranteed without reservations. This includes juridical control of arrests, and the implementation of democratic principles at trials, including the absolute independence of appointed judges.

All those responsible for the deformation of socialism in the GDR are to be held accountable, legally or morally.

The party program stresses the decentralization in the economy, the need for mixed forms of ownership, the new organization of the loan and tax system, and a new media and health policy. Questions of environmental, education, housing, and income policy are posed and answered in a new way. In the GDR there must be

compensation for citizens who were harmed by Stalinism.

A Party of Free Spirit

The priorities of social policy are to be newly determined. Values such as solidarity, tolerance, justice, equality of the sexes and generations, support for certain groups of persons, and social integration are key principles of our republic.

The USPD program tries to set tasks and problems and to give the first answers. Support this process of renewal and the USPD, which is trying to achieve this with all its strength.

We want to be a party of free spirit, for which the welfare of all is the supreme command.

The USPD is an internationalist party and it is its declared goal to join the Socialist International. We need your cooperation!

Neuglobsow Circle for the Founding of the USPD.

TUERKIS Initiative Group Founded

AU3101142690 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 24 Jan 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Initiative Group Constituted: 'Not To Wait Any Longer'"]

[Text] On 1 January 1990, the "Partly Overlapping Reform-Communicative Initiative Group 'Immediately'" (TUERKIS) ["Teilweise uebergriefende reformkommunikative Initiativegruppe 'Sofort'"] was formed in Berlin. Proceeding from the urgent requirements of our time, we consider it necessary not to wait any longer. TUERKIS considers itself a central base above the roof [zentrale Basis ueber dem Dach] and advocates an at least partly overlapping reform-communicative answer to all the pressing questions of our time, most of which have not been posed in one form or another yet. Contrary to red, green, or also black groups, TUERKIS [color turquoise in German], as a result of the diversified pluralism we are energetically advocating, is open to people of all shades who have serious intentions.

Contact address: Olaf Kampmann, P.O. Box Sonntagstrasse 2, Berlin, 1035.

Nemeth Postpones Visits to Israel, Netherlands

LD1302222690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Miklos Nemeth's trips to Israel and the Netherlands have been postponed. This was necessary because preparations for the National Assembly session at the end of February and the National Assembly elections to be held on 25 March are creating more work than usual for government members. For this reason, the Council of Ministers has decided that government members will take only those trips which are indispensable. The Israeli and Netherlands prime ministers received the decision with understanding.

Foreign Minister Horn Winds Up Visit to Canada

Urges Accord on Surveillance Flights

LD1302132890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] The Hungarian Government trusts that it will be possible for representatives of the states concerned to sign in Budapest, in May, an agreement regulating the system of mutual surveillance flights. At the session of the Open Skies conference in Ottawa, Foreign Minister Gyula Horn recalled that Budapest has undertaken to hold the second phase of the conference. He also announced that if the states concerned agree, Hungary is ready to host a meeting of foreign ministers of the countries which signed the Helsinki closing document. A summit this year of the 33 European countries, as well as the United States and Canada, would be prepared at this meeting.

The head of Hungary's diplomatic mission met his Romanian counterpart, Sergiu Celac, in Ottawa, and they agreed that Hungarian-Romanian relations must be normalized as soon as possible.

Horn, Clark Hold News Conference

LD1402095290 Budapest MTI in English 0635 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Ottawa, February 14 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn welcomed the Soviet-American announcement on the reduction of their troops stationed in Europe. The decision is particularly significant for Hungary and Czechoslovakia, as this agreement also underlines the demand of the two countries for Soviet troops to be withdrawn from the areas of their countries. Horn and his Canadian colleague were speaking on Tuesday evening, at a press conference held at the end of the "Open Skies" conference in Ottawa.

Horn also welcomed the decision that has come about in the German issue, and noted: conferences are being held about the German issue within the Warsaw Treaty, and the member states represent their own positions in this debate. (According to certain, lower-level Soviet remarks made in Ottawa, the Warsaw Treaty countries unanimously support the neutrality of a unified Germany. It is, however, well-known, that the Polish, Hungarian and Czechoslovak Governments do not hold the demand for German neutrality to be realistic.)

With respect to the "Open Skies" conference, the Hungarian foreign minister stressed that the essential points of the contract's mandate have been formulated—but experts will have to clarify a good many questions in the short time available.

Similarly to his Hungarian colleague, Canadian Foreign Minister Joe Clark appreciated the successful cooperation of the two countries in the preparations for, and organization of, the "Open Skies" conference. He stressed the success of the Canadian trial surveillance flight made over Hungary in January, and said the return flight would be made over Canadian area probably by a Soviet aircraft, with the involvement of Hungarian representatives.

Horn, who also met FRG Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich-Genscher, left Ottawa for Budapest on Tuesday.

'Alarm' at Soviet Natural Gas Prospects

LD1302134690 Budapest MTI in English 1240 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, 12 Feb (MTI-ECONEWS)—Hungarian energy experts have expressed alarm at a recent statement by the Soviet deputy energy minister that the USSR's natural gas resources will be depleted by the year 2000.

Should this really be the case, it would have serious implications for the Hungarian economy, with hydrocarbons accounting for 59.5 per cent of Hungary's energy consumption at present, with 29 per cent supplied by natural gas. By the year 2000, these figures are expected to rise to 65.3 per cent and 33.3 per cent.

Last year Hungary imported 5.9 billion cubic metres of natural gas from the Soviet Union and plans to take delivery of 6.3 billion cubic metres a year by 1995, and 11 billion by the year 2000.

Over the same period Hungarian gas production is expected to fall from 6.1 billion to 4.2 billion cubic metres a year, that of coal from 20.7 million to 19 million tonnes, and that of crude oil from 1.8 million to 1.5 million tonnes, by the year 2000.

The bulk of Hungary's natural gas imports from the USSR currently form part of long-term interstate agreements. Under current agreements on Hungary's participation in the Orenburg and Yamburg hydrocarbon projects in the Soviet Union, Hungary was under the impression that she would be able to get another 5.5 billion cubic metres a year from around the end of the decade and is therefore seeking urgent negotiations with the USSR as soon as possible to clarify the situation.

Soviet Bank Official on Hungarian Trade Figures

LD1302033190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] [Announcer] Jozsef Barath reports from Moscow on a denial.

[Barath] These figures are the product of an overactive imagination, the deputy president of the Soviet foreign trade bank said, in the interview published in IZVESTIYA, where he commented on the statements made by Lajos Bokros, executive director [uegyvezetoe igazgato] of the Hungarian National Bank, to the newspaper VILAG. In the statement made to the Hungarian paper, it can be read that the Soviet Union owed Hungary 10 billion exchange rate rubles. Moscow really is indebted to Budapest, acknowledges Tomas Alibegov, except that its debts are one order of magnitude fewer than stated.

According to the Soviet financial expert, owing to CEMA's current system of price formation, Hungary gains a unilateral profit of one billion rubles annually, which, in his view, should not be forgotten. Alibegov also reproaches the leader of the Hungarian National Bank for having said that too much of Hungary's convertible currency has gone to the Orenburg and Yamburg investments. According to the Soviet financial expert, when paying for the gas deliveries, Hungary saves much more currency than it spent on the compressor stations.

Planning Official Meets Maslyukov in Moscow

LD1302211990 Budapest MTI in English 1930 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, February 13 (MTI)—Discussions were held in Moscow by Dr Erno Kemenes, president of the National Planning Office, with Yuriy Maslyukov, first deputy president of the Soviet Council of Ministers, president of the State Planning Committee.

The sides exchanged views on the problems of Hungarian-Soviet economic relations and on possibilities of balancing Hungarian-Soviet payments. Discussions were held on the factors impeding the elaboration of the agreement protocol on the 1990 goods exchanges, and methods of updating economic cooperation between the two countries, after 1991.

Medgyessy Interviewed on CEMA Committee

LD1302040490 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] [Announcer] The committee whose purpose is to investigate how CEMA can be reformed, or whether it can be maintained, has been formed in Moscow. The new committee, whose chairman is Erno Kemenes, head of the Planning Office, might work out a new charter. Our first question to Peter Medgyessy was by what time might the first proposal be prepared.

[Begin recording] [Medgyessey] Our previous agreement indicates that the first serious material for discussion, which might merit being talked about, will be ready by the end of April.

[Correspondent] How is the course of business, the work, influenced by the fact that the chairman of the committee is Hungarian?

[Medgyessey] Until now there was a working style which, in my view, was very bad. Then countries state their own views; this was thrown together into one document, and then this was presented as an idea. As opposed to this, we have represented the standpoint that we should reverse the situation; in order for us to solve a problem, it is necessary to first present the situation in a sharper light, and afterward shape a joint standpoint.

[Correspondent] When will all the document's contents, to which the negotiating sides agree, be put into practice?

[Medgyessy] Beginning next year, it will be possible, and necessary, to enforce the new principles.

[Correspondent] But naturally, what might also happen is that the document says the CEMA must be abolished.

[Medgyessey] The possibility for this must also be kept open. I personally favor us preserving, not renouncing, the few advantages the CEMA contains. We are not so rich as to be able to renounce these. However, it is also possible that in the end, the member countries will say that they do not see a renewal as possible, and they do not want to continue it. [end recording]

* Pozsgay on Hungarian-Romanian Relations

27000001E Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 18 Jan 90 pp 1, 6

["Exclusive" interview with Minister of State Imre Pozsgay by Istvan Stanik; place and date not given]

[Text] [ADEVARUL] Mr. State Secretary, how do you evaluate the democratic transformations in Romania in the context of relations between Romania and Hungary?

[Pozsgay] The dictatorship's collapse has opened up new prospects for the development of Romanian-Hungarian relations and it is also of immense importance from the point of view of European cooperation. The Helsinki process can become, in truth, a free association of democracies which are equal in rights. For this to become a reality we must unite our forces.

In the future, relations between Romania and Hungary must be governed by the principles of the Helsinki Final Act, especially, those referring to full respect for human rights, national independence, and non-interference in internal affairs.

The struggle for new democracy has opened up new prospects for relations between the Romanian people

and the national minorities, as well as in Romanian-Hungarian relations. We are confident that the dictatorship's removal and the development of democracy create conditions for us to fulfill our common historic destiny by placing the collaboration between our two peoples on radically new bases.

[ADEVARUL] We are aware that the difficult legacy of the narrow-minded concepts and the dictatorial policy which existed in both countries for decades affect relations between our countries. How do you think that these artificial obstacles can be surmounted?

[Pozsgay] The new democracies are confronted with the residue accumulated over the centuries, not just in recent decades. They must detach themselves from the artificial incitements to hatred of the anti-people regimes, from the myths, passions, and prejudices. Age-old wounds, even in real democracies, need much time to heal and this healing process might extend over a number of generations. For the dictatorships' difficult legacy to be transcended once and for all, there must be mutual patience and understanding, continuing dialogue, and introspection which will penetrate into the deepest strata of the two societies. However, it cannot be limited only to Romanians and Hungarians; everyone, in the East and the West, who helped or supported the dictatorship, directly or indirectly, must answer to his own conscience.

I am convinced that our two countries' future will be determined by common interests; only through common effort will we be able to prosper. The rapid modernization of our national economies is in our interest and is our common task, and so are the creation of an appropriate constitutional framework and the elevation of culture and civilization, so that we do not remain marginalized, but, on the contrary, bring ourselves closer to the developed regions of Europe.

It is clear that economic development is necessary to achieve this goal, utilizing the creative force of the modern forms of economic cooperation. Therefore, the Hungarian Government, enterprises, entrepreneurs, banks, and all appropriate organs and organizations have been asked to do all they can to initiate a framework for direct economic cooperation, accelerating the establishment of mixed Romanian-Hungarian enterprises, financial institutions, and companies of mutual interest, and to develop trade between the two countries.

I consider it necessary to emphasize that the existence of normal, balanced overall Romanian-Hungarian relations is an indispensible condition for economic cooperation. Therefore, I welcome the Romanian statement saying that they will give special attention to Romanian-Hungarian relations and I believe that relations with Romania should be in the forefront of Hungary's policy.

[ADEVARUL] What is the role of the Hungarian minority in Romania and the Romanian minority in Hungary in the development of relations between our countries?

[Pozsgay] The situation of the Hungarian minority in Romania and of the Romanian minority in Hungary plays a key role in Romanian-Hungarian relations. The minorities' situation is the most delicate part of our relations. The problems and the dissensions accumulated over a long period of time must be treated on an urgent basis. The new Romanian policy on minorities will be credible if it demonstrates by its actions its democratic nature to Europe, if institutions to guarantee the most extensive collective and individual rights of the national minorities in Romania are re-established, and if a constitutional and legal system appropriate for the standards and requirements of the end of the 20th century is adopted. I am convinced that the totality of the national minorities' rights is not the gift of the majority or the privilege of the minority but a natural result of democracy.

In my opinion, the Hungarians and their associations throughout the world who are seeking the assistance of the governments of their countries, directly and indirectly, should help the new Romanian Government to establish and develop democracy and the institutions which represent the interests of the Hungarians and of the other national minorities living in Romania.

[ADEVARUL] The Hungarian Government openly states that it feels responsible for the fate of Hungarians who live outside the country, a fact which, not long ago, was thought to be a sign of "interference in internal affairs." Mr. State Secretary, please clarify what you mean by responsibility for Hungarians who live as national minorities.

[Pozsgay] Regarding the fate of Hungarians living outside Hungary, the only criterion for helping these people achieve a framework for organizing and representing their interests and in operating their organs of self-administration and self-management is their own will, expressed freely. Hungary helped the Hungarians living in Romania to express their grievances at a time when the dictator did not permit them to do so. The Hungarian Republic considers itself responsible for the fate of all Hungarians, regardless of where they live and it is ready to give them assistance, but it refrains from appearing to exercise tutelage over them. I believe that it is especially important that the promising Romanian-Hungarian intergovernmental relations which have resumed be continued through intense discussions, so that the contacts destroyed by the dictatorship will be rebuilt in the shortest possible time—especially bilateral cultural and scientific contacts—by drawing up an official agreement in this area. Let me point out that, in our view, the development of relations between Romania and Hungary is a problem of national interest for both countries, on a long-term basis, a problem which should be placed above the interests of the different parties, requiring the consensus and joint action of those parties, regardless of the composition of future party and government coalitions.

Social Democratic Party Gives News Conference

LD1302175190 Budapest MTI in English 1640 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 13 (MTI)—Judging from the recommendations amassed so far, the Social Democratic Party of Hungary (SDPH) hopes to enter so many candidates for the parliamentary elections of March 25 that entitles the party to set up a national list, the party leaders told a news conference in Budapest in February 13.

The party leaders spoke about the SDPH's relations with the fraternal European parties and its participation in the West Berlin meeting of the EC's social democratic parties last week. Wolfgang Adrian of the Friedrich Ebert Foundations and Peter Jankowitsch, foreign affairs secretary of the Austrian Socialist Party, who are currently on a visit to Hungary, assured the party of their suport, saying that the SDPH, as the first social democratic party in the region, could provide an example for the reviving social democratic movements in other East European countries.

President Anna Petrasovits said the SDPH was receiving in West Berlin as the sole internationally recognized Social Democratic Party of Hungary.

Petrasovits on Election Platform

LD1102202790 Budapest MTI in English 1835 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 11 (MTI)—The Social Democratic Party of Hungary [SDPH] wants a properous economy based on mixed ownership forms, which gives an emphatic role to the private sector, and which undertakes considerable social responsibility for every stratum of society, said party President Anna Petrasovits at an election rally in Demecser, Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg County.

Ms Petrasovits also said uneconomic factories and companies should be wound up, the production structure transformed, but not at any cost. Therefore, the financial basis for re-training unemployed people and provide new jobs for them should also be ensured.

The SDPH also stresses the coordination of interests at places of work, a task to be tackled by the trade unions. To this end, they wish to provide all possible help to grass-roots trade union organization and establish strong links with these.

Ms Petrasovits said the election placards of the SDPH were prepared in the FRG, and US campaign managers will also provide assistance in their election campaign.

MSZP Now Eligible for Elections in Budapest

LD1302151190 Budapest MTI in English 1418 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 13 (MTI)—Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) [MSZP] candidates have now amassed the appropriate number of recommendations in all Budapest constituencies to run in the parliamentary elections on March 25, the HSP's Budapest Presidium told newsmen on Tuesday. Unlike other parties, the socialists have a special programme they have tailor-made to the needs of Budapest.

The HSP groups people who have struggled in the past to dismantle the party state and fought for democratic socialism. They dissociate themselves from both the advocates of violence and those who would in no way renounce their power, the Presidium members said.

What about their chances at the elections? The party leaders felt the final say would go to those who have so far kept their thoughts to themselves because they were afraid to express their opinions in the surveys carried out to date. They said the HSP was not prepared to join the government at any cost: They would only take part in a coalition under which they could make their programme reality.

Some party members feel the new parliament should appoint a national unity government based on a broad coalition: The new government, they said, would have to take a number of unpopular measures, and all parties should assume equal responsibility for these.

Pozsgay Presents Views on Political Situation

Says Left Threatened in E. Europe

PM1202125090 Rome AVANTI! in Italian 7 Feb 90 p 14

[Interview with Minister of State Imre Pozsgay by Tito L. Borla; place and date not given]

[Excerpt] Budapest—[introductory passage omitted] [Borla] Mr Pozsgay, what effects will last November's referendum have on the country's political situation?

[Pozsgay] Certainly the initial result was negative, because the cancellation of the presidential elections initially planned for 5 January automatically delayed the inauguration of the supreme state authorities, which will be legitimized by the people's vote for the first time. This has prolonged the provisional status of the present government positions, and this delay ultimately has repercussions on the process of the country's political and economic stabilization. If we had had a president of the republic elected by the people before, rather than after, the general elections, this would definitely have acted as a moderating force on the parties competing in the election campaign and would to some extent have prevented the debasement of political life that we are now witnessing. This is the drawback, though I can say

that Hungary, in the spirit of the new republic, now has the most advanced law-based state anywhere in East Europe.

[Borla] You mentioned the debasement of the country's political life. To what did you intend to refer? Perhaps to the scandal caused by Interior Minister Istvan Horvath's resignation over the phone-tapping affair?

[Pozsgay] Yes. I believe that there is undeniably a link between the latest events and the election campaign. These scandals occurred because the constitutional rules were disregarded. Anyone who wants to report irregularities has the proper means to do so. The judicial bodies have been functioning since 23 October: There are state prosecutors, there is an appointed chairman. And yet those who organized the scandals evaded the constitutional bodies, evidently with the intention of creating a sensation to benefit certain political parties.

I also suspect that the parties which caused the scandals to explode are the same ones which refused to discuss the accords designed to regulate the security bodies' activities. Parliament itself recently announced that the public security issue is not urgent. I would also add that the Constitution renewed on 29 October protects citizens' rights, and the new constitution is to be introduced on 30 April. Furthermore, I would like to say that I know Dr Istvan Horvath very well and am well acquainted with the struggles that he waged within the party and against the government when Janos Kadar was in power. He opposed Kadar and the rest when they wanted to use incorrect means and systems against their political adversaries. He resigned as interior minister, taking responsibility for actions committed by others within his department, and he did so without hiding behind the merits gained in the struggle to democratize his country. This was a noble and correct thing to do.

[Borla] The Hungarian Socialist Party, born from the ashes of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, will be contesting the March elections. What do you believe its chances of success are?

[Pozsgay] I hope that the Hungarian people will realize that, without a strong Socialist Party that protects the interests of entrepreneurs and those entirely dependent on their work, on a monthly wage, there can be no political culture of a European standard; we would not be a real European state. What I consider most dangerous, however, is the fact that all around us—in the other East European countries, where the dictatorships were harsher and their collapses more bloody—all the left-wing alignments are under threat: So the problem is not Hungary's alone.

[Borla] What is your opinion of the present status of relations between Italy and Hungary?

[Pozsgay] We are witnessing constant improvements and progress in relations between our two countries. Following the summit agreement reached by our governments with those of Yugoslavia and Austria—the so-called "quadrilateral"—there has been a further increase in trade exchanges. A highly positive factor now is that Germany's traditional interests in Hungary are matched by the opportunities for cooperation available to Italy. I hope that there will be further progress along this path.

On Importance of MSZP to Nation

LD0802164990 Budapest MTI in English 2125 GMT 7 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 7 (MTI)—Three significant concentrations of power could emerge at the March elections, a substantial European left-wing, headed by the Democratic Forum and associated parties, the other political grouping advocating liberal democracy, headed chiefly by the Alliance of Free Democrats and the Federation of Young Democrats, and the Social Democratic Party of Hungary. The Smallholders' Party will be wavering among these three trends," it was said by Imre Pozsgay, minister of state, member of the HSP's [Hungarian Socialist Party/MSZP] Presidium, speaking at the national forum of heads of consumers' cooperatives, held at Hajduszoboszlo on Wednesday.

In weighting the election chances of the Hungarian Socialist Party, Mr Pozsgay said: "If this party fails to become a significant factor in future Hungarian politics, it could mean that the country may be heading towards "Balcanisation" and that we will not be able to approach for another decade the often mentioned European house, but from the servant's door," Mr Pozsgay cautioned.

On Party's Role in Governing

LD1102032390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 10 Feb 90

[Text] At an election assembly in Hodmezovasarhely, Imre Pozsgay described the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] as a conservative and not a left-wing party. He explained that the Socialist Party [MSZP] foresees the unified left without the MSZMP. He talked about his party's wish to continue to take part as a governing force in political life after the elections, but that the opposition parties want to prevent this: In his view the struggle is for a share of power, since the opposition already announced the slogan for a parliament without the left. Without the MSZP the system would not have changed and Hungary will not advance either, Pozsay said. If the Socialist Party and the left are squeezed out of the battleground of politics, then the country will not progress toward Europe but toward the Balkans, Imre Pozsgay declared.

Nyers on Religious Freedom, Vatican Relations

AU1202223890 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 7 Feb 90 p 7

[Interview with Hungarian Socialist Party Chairman Rezso Nyers by Lajos Pogonyi; place and date not given: "It Is in Our National Interest To See to It That the Government Does Not Hinder the Churches—Rezso Nyers on Religious Freedom, Relations Between Socialists and Christians"—first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Excerpts] The diplomatic events of the week are the following: Agostino Casaroli will come to Hungary to sign an important agreement with Hungarian officials. The Hungarian Catholic Episcopate published a statement dealing with the role of Christians in society's renewal. We asked Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] Chairman Rezso Nyers to give an interview to NEPSZABADSAG.

[Pogonyi] According to the news, Agostino Casaroli's current visit will be a decisive step in settling diplomatic relations between the Hungarian Republic and the Vatican. How does the MSZP evaluate this?

[Nyers] With Mr. Casaroli, we are hosting a high-ranking church official who played an outstanding role in gradually improving Hungarian-Vatican relations. Slow consolidation has replaced open confrontation in state-church relations, and, following the declaration of intentions for cooperation, this principle has been put into practice in several areas. I think that Casaroli's visit will represent another important phase in our relations' development, just like the talks of MSZP politicians Imre Pozsgay and Gyula Horn in the Vatican in recent months. The MSZP welcomes the possible agreement on restoring diplomatic relations. [passage omitted]

[Pogonyi] Nowadays, the church's role has increased and changed. The soothing effect of the churches is essential in times of social tensions.

[Nyers] Unfortunately, for a long time we have underestimated the churches' moral-shaping role, and now we are facing a moral loosening in Hungary. As early as during the 1960's, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] tried to do something about this, but it was not always successful. Modern religious feelings also have a great social function. [passage omitted]

As for the normalization of relations between the Catholic Church and the state, as I said earlier, Agostino Casaroli had a great part in this, as well as Janos Kadar, who tried to reach a modus vivendi with the churches. [passage omitted]

[Pogonyi] Leaflets appeared in Budapest last month on behalf of the Christian National Union calling for demonstrations in front of the Basilica in Budapest. "Let us discard passivity and let us dictate our conditions to the Communists from the street"—the leaflets said.

[Nyers] This also shows that the extremist political trends only seemingly represent Christian morality and are raising the Christian ideals only in the service of their party policy goals.

[Pogonyi] It seems as if anti-Semitism was increasing in Hungary. In your view, is this phenomenon a threat?

[Nyers] In my youth, I called anti-Semitism the socialism of the foolish. Today, I would formulate it more seriously. Anti-Semitism is an inhuman idea even if it does not kill directly. The final result is the same. Today, religious intolerance is no longer so virulent as before World War II. Previous causes of anti-Semitism, like hatred against part of the industrial and financial capital, have ceased to exist today. The true Christians and Socialists should take a common stand against anti-Semitism. We did that before and during World War II. [passage omitted]

Spokesman Details Jaruzelski Stand on Germany

LD1302222790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Referring to the statement by President Wojciech Jaruzelski, granted to the SZTANDAR MLODYCH newspaper, on the matter of German reunification and the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Poland, the president's spokesman, Wlodzimierz Lozinski, said that the president's statement clearly underlines that our attitude to German affairs is constant and consistent. Not questioning the right of self-determination for any nation, we also do not deny the Germans the possibility of shaping their own statehood, albeit on conditions taking account of peaceful coexistence, security, and the inviolability of the borders of all states.

Replying to a question on the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Poland, the president stressed the association of this matter with the overall shape of the European situation. Soviet armies in Poland constitute part of the organization that assures stability in Europe and are a significant factor guaranteeing the security of our western border. Thus, their withdrawal can be an outgrowth of the successful development of the territory issue in Germany and in Europe, including the final recognition of our borders.

Poland should also receive a guarantee on these matters from the great powers. The Soviet Union grants us such guarantees. The standpoint of the president is in accord with Soviet views expressed during Chancellor's Kohl visit to Moscow. President Jaruzelski had a telephone conversation on this matter with Mikhail Gorbachev.

Mazowiecki on Official Visit to UK

LD1302104890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, who is on an official visit to Great Britain, met BBC authorities and employees of its Polish section early this morning. Today's agenda also includes talks with representatives of the Confederation of British Industry, a visit to the House of Commons, a meeting with Polish emigrees, and, in the evening, an official dinner given in his honor by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

Mazowiecki Dinner Speech

LD1302233690 Warsaw PAP in English 2235 GMT 13 Feb 90

["Mazowiecki's Downing Street Address (abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] London, Feb. 13—Following is an abridged text of Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki's address at a Downing Street dinner here on Tuesday [13 February].

Traditions of Common Struggle

I am glad to be in London, the cradle of European parliamentarianism which was born here in the famous Westminister Hall. I am thankful for the invitation to a country which already centuries ago initiated what we today term a state of law.

Many of our compatriots shared "blood, sweat and tears" here with you, believing Winston Churchill that this price had to be paid. This sky above us witnessed the struggle of Polish airmen who, side by side with their English fellow pilots, defended Poland's freedom while defending the freedom of this land. Many Polish soldiers fell in this land and in the surrounding waters, and those who survived met with hospitality in this country when the course of history turned against us.

This is how "Polish London" emerged, today composed of loyal citizens of this kingdom who at the same time preserved a special affection for the country on the River Vistula.

Britain Supports Polish Efforts

Poland is now undergoing great political and economic transformations. They proceed in peace and in a rhythm we regard appropriate for shaping a thought-over law as well as the institution of parliamentary democracy and a market economy.

Since the beginning of this year we have been implementing a very difficult programme of economic stabilization, settled with the International Monetary Fund, which is also expected to create foundations for a market economy. Society accepts this programme with understanding despite considerable price hikes and a production drop in January.

Now I would like to thank the government of her royal highness, which you head, for the 100-million-dollar contribution to the Polish zloty stabilization fund, for the establishment of the 50-million-pound know-how fund as well as the 15-million-pound fund to support our agriculture, and finally for supporting our efforts within the Paris Club to ease the burden of debt servicing.

Debt Problem

What we regard as especially painful is the debt problem. We know that economic recovery must come as a result of efforts of society at large, and society has just undertaken this effort. The government I lead is determined to continue and realize the initiated programme. In the long term, we aim at transforming Poland's 40 million consumers into an absorbent and open market, which would also mean an expansion of the Paneuropean market. This will be possible once the Polish economy, after recovering its balance, also recovers its ability of development.

Acceleration of History

Changes taking place in Poland are a component of the great accelecation of history which for the past few years has been taking place and intensifying on the immense territory east of the Elbe. Poland has largely helped to trigger off this process which at the same time draws its momentum from the bold, difficult and respectworthy policy by the Soviet state leadership headed by Mikhail Gorbachev.

We wish this policy success for it creates a chance for a genuine reconciliation between Poles and Russians with whom we would like to live in peace like free people with free people.

We also think that success of this Soviet policy should constitute the goal of wise efforts on the part of the international community for it is in the interest of us all.

Freedom Regained and What Next?

How will societies of central and eastern Europe use their regained or now-being-regained right to determine their own fate? Will dispersal and old or new misunderstandings get the upper hand or will the artificial links shaped by force or ideology be replaced by natural links binding free nations capable of solving problems together and discordances through agreement?

How will Germans solve the problem of their state unity to which they have an unquestionable right just like any other nation? Is this going to come about irrespective of the need of a joint settlement of matters in this continent, leading to the emergence in its centre of a great country stirring uncertainty and old fears of its neighbours? Or will this come about in the perspective of a paneuropean rapprochement?

How will western Europe, rich and to a large degree linked within the great-market community, treat the countries from behind the Iron Curtain, now pulled down, countries which are poorer and which often suffer hard consequences of a defective economic system which was once imposed upon them.

We Will Find Right Answers

These are just a few important questions which we face and which should be answered. Observing the political life of Europe, listening to the statements by Mrs Prime Minister and by other most prominent statesmen, I am deeply convinced that we will find the right answers.

It will be a difficult task for us to make the now-unsettled situation into a new political architecture of our continent. Ideas which have already emerged as far as this matter is concerned and also others which may surface, must be given time to ripe.

One of such ideas might be my proposed European Cooperation Council, open to all participants in the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation.

Answers UK Poles

LD1302221890 Warsaw PAP in English 2124 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] London, Feb. 13—Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki addressed British Polonians and answered questions.

One of the Polonians asked Mazowiecki whom Czeslaw Kiszczak and Wojciech Jaruzelski represented particularly now after the dissolution of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party]. Mazowiecki said that the fact that he was here as premier was the result of some agreement and the signing of the treaty.

He said that those people had to make very difficult decisions and that he himself had been interned during martial law but today he respected them. Mazowiecki said that, on the other hand, they displayed full loyalty to him and to the government ran by him.

UK Poles Donate Money

LD1302222190 Warsaw PAP in English 2104 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] London, Feb. 13—During a meeting with emigres, activists of the Polish Union in Britain handed over 100,000 British pounds to Premier Mazowiecki. The money was collected among British Polonians and is assigned to the Tadeusz Mazowiecki Relief Fund for Poland.

Meets With Party Leaders

LD1302153690 Warsaw PAP in English 1345 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] London, Feb. 13—After a meeting with British industrialists Premier Mazowiecki arrived at the Houses of Parliament in the Westminister Palace for meetings with the Labour Party leader, Neil Kinnock, and chairman of the Conservative Party, Kenneth Baker.

Urges Investment in Poland

LD1302153290 Warsaw PAP in English 1440 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] London, Feb. 13—In his speech delivered in the headquarters of the Confederation of British Industry earlier this morning, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki pointed out that despite current difficulties related to overcoming the sad heritage of the state's unlimited power, Poland was a country of great potential possibilities.

The premier urged the British investors to show their pioneering spirit and get involved in the Polish economy right away. The government will do their best to reduce the risk, Mazowiecki pledged.

Phones Skubiszewski From London

LD1302180190 Warsaw PAP in English 1624 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] London, Feb 13—Poland's Government spokeswoman Malgorzata Niezabitowska announced here today that Premier Mazowiecki had had a phone talk with Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski last night.

The Polish minister had held talks in Ottawa with Eduard Shevardnadze and James Baker on a conference of the six (four powers and two German states) on the German question. Premier Mazowiecki stated that Poland should also participate in such a conference.

The premier touched upon the subject in his talks with leader of the Conservative Party Kenneth Baker and with Premier Margaret Thatcher.

Skubiszewski Addresses 'Open Skies' Forum

LD1302134790 Warsaw PAP in English 2044 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Ottawa, Feb. 12—Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski took the floor at the inaugural session of the "Open Skies" conference here today. excerpts:

The states of Central and Eastern Europe have rejected various forms of totalitarianism. The Europe of two ideologies and the confrontation based on them is becoming a thing of the past. Poland has been the originator of the changes in Central-Eastern Europe. We should all remember the Solidarnosc movement and its impact on the various transformations that now take place in that region.

Minister Skubiszewski pointed out that in fact, the East-West dichotomy has lost its former sense, and went on to say:

A single Europe is emerging. It is a Europe of democracy, pluralism and humanism. The construction of a new system of European security, the rejection of the East-West formula of relationships and the making of new arrangements of cooperation and cohesion should be subordinated to these values, Polish minister said.

There is need to arrive at a long-term concept for the development of pan-European relations. Some most recent changes that are beginning to take place in the heart of Europe and that are fundamental require the creation of a new system of European security. It is with this in mind that we are considering the proposal to call a summit conference of the 35 states which participate in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. We feel that such a summit conference should consider various initiatives to modify the status of our continent, Skubiszewski said.

While the European Community constitutes the hard core of the effort to build united Europe, and the Council of Europe in Strasbourg plays a primary role, I wish to emphasize the importance of President Mikhail Gorbachev's concept of a "common European home" and of President Francois Mitterrand's idea of a European confederation.

In the Helsinki process we also need some institutional improvements and among other proposals to this effect I wish to refer to the suggestion by the Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki to establish, within that process, a council of European cooperation. Let me add that this council will not compete with any of the existing European organizations or institutions nor will it be a substitute for them, Skubiszewski said.

The new security system which Poland is favouring should be guided by the mutual respect of rights and interests and should contain specific guarantees which would eliminate a possibility of a return to the rule of force, to political dictates and to satellitism.

Disarmament thinking may not be allowed to lag behind the requirements of the current situation and the course of events. Hence our call for a rapid and successful conclusion of the agreements which have already been outlined at the present negotiations and to advance to a new stage of accords which would lead to a comprehensive European rapprochement. [PAP promises more; nothing received as of 1345 GMT]

Skubiszewski Proposes Recalling Ambassadors

LD1302175490 Warsaw PAP in English 1542 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 13—In mid-January Minister Skubiszewski told the Sejm that he had proposed recalling 13 ambassadors, people from outside the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, namely secretaries of former PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] central or provincial committees, ministers or vice-ministers of other departments, or even vice-chairmen of the Central Union of Dairy Cooperaties, the GAZETA WYBORCZA Solidasrity daily wrote today.

The labour code and diplomatic procedure make it impossible to immediately change ambassadors, the daily added.

The ambassadors recalled by the minister were to return to Poland on March 31. But after taking into account his request, General Baryla will return from Syria at the end of the year and Ambassador to Zimbabwe Miroslaw Dackiewicz is applying for extension of his mission.

Sports head of long-standing Marian Renke was recalled from Madrid, Tadeusz Porebski frm Yugoslavia, vice-chairman of housing cooperatives and former Minister of Construction Stanislaw Kuluryka from Libya. Jerzy Kuberski is to return from the Vatican, Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak from Prague, Janusz Obodowski from Berlin and chief of Father Popieluszko's murderers Wladyslaw Ciaston from Albania, the GAZETA reported.

Withdrawn were also nominations of Generals Obiedzinski (Polish Army quartermaster), Polkowski, Nowak (vice-minister of national defence) and Zenczykowski (government protection office) from the consulates in Moscow, Minsk, Kiev and Lvov.

The following ambassadors retained their posts: Former PAP and radio and television head Janusz Rozskowski in Copenhagen, former Chief of Staff of the Polish Army Wojciech Baranski in Havana, former PUWP CC [Central Committee] secretary, first secretary of PUWP in Warsaw Marian Wozniak in Beijing, former CC department deputy head Janusz Lewandowski in Athens.

Former CC Secretary Ryszard Frelek will also remain in Athens as counsellor in the Polish Embassy there, the GAZETA WYBORCZA disclosed.

SDRP Opposes Seizures of PZPR Property

AU1302090390 Warsaw TRYBUNA KONGRESOWA in Polish 8 Feb 90 p 3

[Interview with Andrzej Gdula, member of the Supreme Council of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic Commission, by Izabella Wajszczuk; place and date not given: "Property Is an Important Matter"]

[Text] [Wajszczuk] There are rumors that nobody wants the main building—affectionately called "the White House"—that belonged to the former Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. Is it to stand empty in the middle of the city?

[Gdula] A typical rumor. Somebody misheard something and passed it on. It is true that the SDRP [Social Democracy of the Polish Republic] leadership would like to find smaller accommodation, and the reason for this is not only financial. It is false, however, to suggest that the ownership of the building is being questioned. The right of ownership to 16 buildings is fully documented and unquestionable. The former Central Committee headquarters is also among these properties.

[Wajszczuk] In that case, who will occupy the building and what will it be used for?

[Gdula] It may be that the rumor comes from the fact that given today's prices, the cost of maintaining such a building is great. It is well known that the building is unsuitable for use as a hotel, hospital, or even as a museum. The money that would be needed to convert the building would be sufficient to pay for the construction of a brand new building. There are no lecture theaters. This building is a typical office block, but we do not intend to give up our ownership rights simply for this reason. Each and every property means money, and one has to approach the matter of money with great seriousness. The times of high emotion will pass, and we will not gain anything if it eventually becomes obvious that these buildings have deteriorated because it was easy to dispossess but much more difficult to find a proper use for them.

[Wajszczuk] Are there any past examples that illustrate this danger?

[Gdula] At present there are no takers for the voivodship committee offices in Katowice and Czestochowa. After the real costs became known, the potential takers decided that it was too expensive for them.

[Wajszczuk] There were people calling for the sale of the "White House" after the government commission finishes its work.

[Gdula] There were and still are. But in my opinion nobody has the right to dispose of property of which he may be only one of the owners. These matters really call for calm and common sense.

[Wajszczuk] It would seem to be self-evident that if there is property like this, then it makes more sense to take it over while it is in good condition and not when it is in a dilapidated state.

[Gdula] This is precisely the view of the government commission and the SDRP commission that I represent. The aim of the government commission is clear-cut—namely, to define the property that the party owns. All attempts that aim at dispossession are illegal and against the work of the commission. The Sejm has not intervened in this matter only to have all such property brought to ruin.

[Wajszczuk] The government commission is only considering buildings and land. How many building are the subject of the commission's investigations?

[Gdula] Some 16 buildings are fully accounted for. Some 171 buildings stand on state land, and we want to keep these after all the formalities prescribed by the government commission have been carried out. Some 224 buildings will be returned to their owners.

[Wajszczuk] Some have already returned.

[Gdula] The giving up of buildings or their forced occupation does not prejudge the legal issue. Only the decisions of the government commission will be legally binding. Nothing is valid without the agreement of the government commission and before a proper inventory has been taken. Otherwise, we are opening the floodgate of theft and misappropriation.

[Wajszczuk] Is the sealing up of the buildings that belonged to the old PZPR by the city mayors also illegal?

[Gdula] That depends on what the government commission decides. The government did not form this commission and the Sejm did not approve it in order to have people in every city and village take the law into their own hands in this matter. Until the end of March, nobody has the right to give up or take over these buildings.

[Wajszczuk] One still does not know what is to happen to the "White House."

[Gdula] Even I do not know. I believe there are firms or institutions that can afford to lease it. In the canteen, we may even see McDonald's hamburgers.

[Wajszczuk] Thank you for the interview.

USRP's Fiszbach on Property

AU1402133490 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 12 Feb 90 p 1

[PAP report: "Fiszbach Prefers To Take From the Government"]

[Text] PAP has received the following statement from Tadeusz Fiszbach, chairman of the Social Democratic Union of the Polish Republic [USRP]:

With reference to the 10 February meeting of the Supreme Council of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SDRP], I wish to confirm the position of the founding group of the USRP concerning our group's refusal to make any claim on the property of the old Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], which ought to be returned to the Polish people. We anticipate that the decisions of the government commission dealing with the matter will take into account the expectations of the local populations and the needs of all democratic political groupings, including our own union. We consider that the property rights of the Polish Socialist Party [PPS], which was restored several years ago, call for particular consideration.

Mazowiecki Ranks High in Popularity

AU0802120390 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 3-4 Feb 90 p 2

['abo'-signed report: "The Nation Loves its Premier"]

[Text] The results of a poll conducted in the middle of January by the Public Opinion Research Center show that 91 percent of those polled support Premier Mazowiecki's political activity. Some 89 percent expressed their support for Primate Glemp, and 85 percent supported Lech Walesa. In the case of Alfred Miodowicz and Mieczyslaw Rakowski, there was a marked drop in popularity (10 percent in the case of Miodowicz, and 40 percent in the case of Rakowski).

The all-Poland poll of 1,486 people, shows that in comparison with November, there is a marked drop in support for the policies of various politicians and political activists. This is most noticeable with regard to the marshals of the Sejm and the Senate. Stelmachowski has dropped by 11 percent (66.3 percent), and Kozakiewicz by 8 percent (69.9 percent). Lech Walesa has also dropped by 8 percent. Additionally, his political activity is considered to be negative by some 8.9 percent. This is an increase of 6 percent.

President Wojciech Jaruzelski and Jacek Kuron come out about equal in the popularity ratings. The former received 65.5 percent positive and 19.6 percent negative votes. The latter, 66.9 percent and 19.6 percent, respectively. Leszek Balcerowicz (60.5 positive and 16.8 negative), and Malgorzata Niezabitowska (57 percent and 17.3 percent respectively), are about equal.

Over 50 percent of these polled did not have any opinion about the leaders of the Democratic Party and the Polish Peasant Party—Rebirth.

Those polled were also asked to independently put forward the names of politicians whom they trust. Tadeusz Mazowiecki was at the top of this category with 50.6 percent, and Walesa—with 37.6 percent—was second. Those who only received 1-2 percent of votes in this category were Malgorzata Niezabitowska, Alfred Miodowicz, and Adam Michnik.

Walesa Increasingly 'Worried' About Situation

AU1302162090 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Feb 90 p 12

[Report on interview with Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa by RUDE PRAVO correspondent Pavol Minarik in Gdansk; date not given: "Being a Guest On One's Own Turf"]

[Excerpts] The chance to meet Lech Walesa on his own turf does not present itself to journalists every day—especially in the presence of workers and technicians from the Gdansk shipyards. [passage omitted]

At the outset of the meeting with the shipyard workers, Walesa spoke about the exeptionally complicated situation of the shipyards in connection with their liquidation. When the time for questions came, I asked:

[Minarik] Solidarity has a great influence on what is going on in Poland. Are you not afraid of the ensuing responsibility?

[Walesa] Yes, I am, and I am becoming more and more so. In 1982 we chose the way of a broad pluralism for everyone to be able to organize. Now it seems, however, as if people cared more about their personal ambitions and less about a solution to problems. As a result, we are ever more entangled in various problems. That is why I am getting so worried. On the other hand, there are many wise men in Poland, so there is a chance they will devise something wise.

If somebody has quality programs, then it is necessary to enable him to present those programs. But this should not happen on the street or with the help of stones. Everything must be done in a parliamentary way. Any other way is dangerous.

[Minarik] What is your opinion about us, Czechs and Slovaks?

[Walesa] The fact that Vaclav Havel became president so quickly is good. But the problems lie somewhere else;

there are no programs, no starting points. Czechoslovakia, in my opinion, is in a worse situation in this regard than Poland. But both states are in a difficult situation arising from their technological and organizational backwardness. In the future process of development, something will be painlessly attained in Poland, while something else will be attained more smoothly in your country, in Czechoslovakia. I believe that we will manage to pull ourselves together and will join Europe and the world.

I am afraid of one thing, however. Young people in the streets—and very often they are right—may get us involved in something that could be misused by somebody and that could prevent us from making reforms and throw us back some 20 years. You in Czechoslovakia are facing the same danger. You are applauding nicely, the speeches are also nice, everything put together makes a wonderful effect, only you cannot produce more bread out of it. Neither the approach to work will change nor will enterprises get modernized by this. That is why we need good, and first of all, effective reforms.

[Minarik] What are you expecting from the second Solidarity congress that will take place in March?

[Walesa] The congress headed by Walesa will tell everybody: Do not play games with us. We wanted to belong to Solidarity, to a trade union, and you, instead of being concerned about trade unions, are taking power, control, and politics into your hands. The congress will surely ask me: Walesa, what is it you really want to be? What kind of role do you want to play in Poland? If you do not want to defend the working people, then you should go somewhere else but we, for the money we contribute, want Solidarity to be a trade union. I will probably have to listen to all of that, and it will no longer be possible to proceed as we have proceeded so far. I think that it will no longer be possible to support either the government or our club of deputies in the parliament.

[Minarik] Later, questions from the assembly room followed. I have selected some of them:

[Question] I am a member of the Franciscan ecology movement. If you were disquieted by the coke plant in Stonava, why did you not take a stand regarding the discontinuation of construction of the nuclear power plant in Zarnowiec?

[Walesa] I have always been and will remain an opponent of nuclear power stations and I am not going to change my opinion. But I know that if I agreed with the discontinuation of the construction then you would go on strike in half a year and by protesting you would have destroyed those 40 billion zlotys invested in the construction and another 70 billion that were designated for appliances. People then would be asking me: Lech, what have you done, who has given you the right? I repeat, I am against nuclear power plants, but let the real specialists present the facts related to the construction and let the public then decide in a referendum. Are we supposed to destroy all of this only because four people were on hunger strikes? After some time, we would then be buying power from the GDR produced in an equivalent or even technologically inferior power plant because of a power shortage in our country.

[Question] The supply situation is poor and farmers are discontented. Why do the trade unions not take a stand against the skyrocketing prices of bread, for instance?

[Walesa] I know that this is an abnormal situation. I am also jumping out of my skin when I see all this. The problem is that the government has been in power for only four months and reforms being introduced do cost something. Those unable to work as good managers will have to go. Some managers include in price calculations the cost of their own incompetence. So far, there are no legal regulations that would make it possible to face up to this.

[Question] What will happen to the dockyard? I have been working there for 38 years and now I will have to collect welfare checks. I am not alone, there will be more people like that. There will be various companies here, but I do not like it at all....

[Walesa] I have devoted all of my authority toward saving the dockyards. I have also designated people, whom you know well, to keep an eye on the entire situation. I, myself, am not physically able to look after everything. You are not fair, however, and you do not take us seriously if you say that we are new pigs at old troughs. It is you who pushed me into all that. I used to say: Let us stop at the roundtable. Let the party stay in power; in the meantime we will prepare the personnel and, after four years, we will "rob the bank." Do you remember? You were opposed. We won the election, so let us take over power. I stressed that we were not prepared. But you forced me into it and now you are criticizing us instead of helping.

Gdansk Solidarity Meeting Elects Officials

LD1002095790 Warsaw PAP in English 2045 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Gdansk, Feb. 9—During the 2nd day of the general meeting of the Gdansk region "Solidarnosc", the delegates elected the chairman and members of the regional board.

Before holding elections, the delegates adopted a resolution on the changes in the Internal Affairs Ministry. They addressed the Sejm (lower house of parliament) deputies with an appeal to actually disolve the security service and dismiss people linked with the security service from the Internal Affairs Ministry.

The elections started with four candidates running for the post of regional chairman, among whom was chairman of the provisional board Bogdan Borusewicz. Winning 137 out of 304 votes, Borusewicz became chairman of the regional board.

The delegates also put forward the candidature of Lech Walesa, but he refused to run for the post.

Bogdan Borusewicz, 41, graduted from the Lublin Catholic University Kul, department of history. Since 1976 an activist of the Kor workers' defence committee. After December 13, 1981, he was an active member of the underground "Solidarnosc."

Delegates Meeting Ends

LD1102233190 Warsaw PAP in English
2239 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Text] Gdansk, Feb. 11—Delegates of the Gdansk Solidarity ended their general meeting this evening resolving to meet again next week to complete the programme discussion.

Today's guest of the debate was Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

The meeting discussed economic problems and the ensuing tasks of the union in the field of labour and pay protection. They came out in favour of economic pluralism and economy's demonopolization, industry's restructuring and changes in ownership titles.

The congress adopted a resolution with a demand to halt the construction of a nuclear plant in Zarnowiec.

Four candidates were running for the post of Gdansk Solidarity's leader. Among them were head of the provisional board Bogdan Borusewicz who won by a majority of votes. Lech Walesa refused to run for the office and asked his supporters to vote for Borusewicz.

The hearings of candidates for the regional board and the election of delegates to a national congress lasted many hours. The congress elected Lech Walesa, Bogdan Borusewicz, Bogdan Lis, Lech Kaczynski, Jacek Merkel and Jerzy Milewski delegates to the national congress.

On the last day of the debate, the delegates attended a solemn mass for the free motherland. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, who also participated in the mass, met later on with trade unionists in the conference hall. The prime minister said he hoped that like to date, despite different points of view on many economic problems, the government and the union would reach agreement and mutual understanding indispensable under the current circumstances.

The prime minister came out in favour of the earlier date of the elections to local self-governments and of closing the term of office of the present people's councils by the end of March.

Lech Walesa appealed for efforts to separate labour and political activities of the union, for transfering political ambitions to newly-formed parties and programmes. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Walesa said, is the last prime minister elected by way of confidence only.

Gdansk Solidarity Called 'Second Commune'

LD1302025190 Warsaw PAP in English
2047 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Gdansk, Feb 12—Young people belonging to the Federation of Fighting Youth and several other organizations held a demonstration in Gdansk today under the banner of "enough of Yalta". It took place on the 45th anniversary of the end of the Yalta Conference.

The demonstrators protested against the post-Yalta division of Europe and the domination of the Soviet Union in central and East Europe. The youth accused Solidarnosc of continuing the Yalta policy, branding the trade union "the second commune" after holding talks with its regional leader in front of the Solidarnosc headquarters here.

Solidarity Branch Sections Discuss Role

LD1302025690 Warsaw PAP in English
2120 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Gdansk, Feb. 12—Representatives of the Solidarnosc national branch sections met here today to discuss the place and role of branch structures in the life of the trade union, the Press Office of the Solidarnosc National Executive Commission says.

The representatives decided to continue such meetings to work out proposals for the programmatic commission that would be used to prepare elements of a programme for discussion at the second Solidanrnosc congress, the communique says.

Election Commission Meets on By-Elections

LD0702222590 Warsaw PAP in English
2053 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 6—The State Election Commission convened here on Tuesday [6 February] to get acquainted with the course of by-elections to the senate in the Opole Voivodship on February 4 and with the course of the election campaign which revealed certain nationalist tensions.

The number of persons eligible to vote: 705,462, the number of valid votes: 214,796.

Results:

1. Bobrowski, Jerzy Wawrzyniec.....17,265 (8.04 per cent)

2. Krol, Henryk.....84,601 (39.39 per cent)

3. Pietrzykowski, Jozef.....33,951 (15.81 per cent)

4. Simonides, Dorota Elzbieta.....76,592 (35.66 per cent)

As none of the candidates scored the required number of votes, Henryk Krol and Dorota Simonides will run for the mandate in a second round of elections, scheduled for February 18, 1990.

Szatybelko Wins Sejm By-Election in Gdynia

LD1302191290 Warsaw PAP in English 1712 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 13—A total of 15,365 valid votes were cast in the Sejm by-election held in a constituency in Gdynia last Sunday [11 February]. There were 246,398 eligible voters.

The mandate given in the round table contract to the Polish Catholic Social Union went to Marian Szatybelko who won 10,257 votes (66.75 percent) while 3,707 valid votes (24.13 percent) were received by Andrzej Marek Pruszkowski.

The turnout was 6.4 percent.

1,000 Soldiers Demonstrate in Bucharest

AU1302145090 Paris AFP in English 1418 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest, Feb 13 (AFP)—A thousand Romanian soldiers Tuesday [13 February] demanded the ouster of the defense and interior ministers and a purge in the military, in a protest outside government headquarters here. The protest came as Romania's new ruling council was holding its second session in the building to elect a president, with the country's de facto leader Ion Iliescu the sole candidate.

The soldiers, unarmed but uniformed and ranging from officers to foot-soldiers, also demanded better conditions. It was the second day for the protest, after several dozen officers and warrant officers massed at the same location Monday.

But at midday, Romanian radio broadcast a counter protest from the "collective of military cadres of Unit 02450 in Bucharest" condemning eight officers who, in full uniform, went on television overnight to call for the resignation of Defense Minister Nicolae Militaru and Interior Minister Mihai Chitac, both Army generals.

Some protestors charged General Chitac with personally firing on demonstrators during the December popular uprising which toppled Nicolae Ceausescu. Others said a delegation of protestors had gone into government headquarters, but there were no other details.

The Unit 02450 communique accused the protestors of "not understanding the Army's mission to defend, with the people, the conquests of the revolution".

The demonstration was the latest challenge to the country's leadership, which revamped last week amid popular unrest and growing suspicions about the legitimacy and goals of the National Salvation Front (NSF) Council. The council took over in December after Mr. Ceausescu's overthrow.

The new Provisional Council of National Unity (PCNU), a multi-party body of 253 members which took over Friday from the NSF Council, was to elect a chairman at the Tuesday meeting.

Mr. Iliescu, who led the NSF and was for many years a high- ranking member of the now outlawed communist party, is the only candidate.

The PCNU, in which the NSF is assured of a majority, is to lead the country until legislative elections set for May. It was set up under pressure from the opposition and is the first multi-party legislative body here since 1946.

The closed-door session was also to discuss how the PCNU will function, and hear a report on the country's economic situation by Prime Minister Petre Roman.

Opposition party leaders say they intend to press for a postponement of the legislative elections which the NSF had scheduled for May 20. The opposition, in disarray after decades of repression, says May 20 is too early and will give small parties no time to campaign.

The Romanian Army played a key role in the December popular uprising and in the ensuing takeover by the NSF. But up to now, it had seemed a rock of stability in the political turmoil.

The usual guard outside government headquarters was greatly reduced. The handful left, armed with assault rifles, appeared ill at ease. Most of the tanks generally stationed outside the building had also been withdrawn, with only two armored troop carriers left in place.

The protestors were split into two groups—with about 800 army foot-soldiers to the left and some 200 to 300 air force officers, the more prestigious military division, on the right.

The foot-soldiers were demanding primarily better conditions. Under the former regime, conscripts were used as laborers in mines and at major worksites and the protestors Tuesday [13 February] were asking to be discharged and returned home.

The air force officers' demands were more political, including a purge of officers compromised under the Ceausescu regime and the ouster of the two ministers.

One of their members charged General Militaru, the defense minister, with "creating tension" in the army. Several denounced General Chitac, the interior minister, for his part in allegedly repressing the protests in the western city of Timisoara in December that touched off the country's uprising. They said they had seen film footage showing Gen. Chitac personally firing on demonstrators.

The air force men were also protesting the integration of the Securitate, the hated political police under the old regime, into the army.

Western military sources said the Romanian Army numbers 170,000 men, including 140,000 ground troops and 32,000 air force men. The Navy, which did not appear to be represented Tuesday, counts 7,500 men.

Jane's, the British review specializing in defense matters, has described the Romanian Army as one of the poorest and worst equipped in the Warsaw Pact, "in both quality and quantity".

Demand Appointment of Civilian

AU1302083090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0500 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Last night on Free Romanian Television, a group of officers demanded that Defense Minister General Nicolae Militaru and Interior Minister General Mihai Chitac resign. They also demanded that a civilian be appointed as head of the Ministry of Defense and that he be a member of the future parliament.

Military Unit Disapproves of Officers' Action

AU1302110690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1000 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Statement issued by cadres collective of Military Unit 02450 in Bucharest on 13 February]

[Text] With complete indignation, the military in our command express disapproval with the slanderous assessments made by a group of officers on Free Romanian Television on 12 February in connection with the situation in the Army.

The officers in this group, by not thoroughly understanding the mission of the Army to defend the revolution's assets, are trying to split the unity of action of the Army and to divert the attention of officers, military specialists, noncommissioned officers, and conscripts from the supreme goal of the Army: defending our ancestors' land.

Disregarding legal provisions and the obligation of military cadres—namely, to approach the hierarchically relevant bodies to solve the problem of the unit and their own problems—and dealing a blow to the Army's social prestige conquered on the barricades of the revolution, these officers are trying to force the solution of certain problems that are being discussed by the state and government leadership.

As is known, the Ceausescu regulations in the Army have been abrogated and some rights regarding promotion, pay, equipment, and nutrition have been restored. A long-term strategic plan is being prepared, which is aimed at modernizing the Army and at strengthening its combat potential.

As military, free from political influence and pressure, we are aware of the fact that during this period our basic mission is to preserve the unity of action of the Army and of all commands and units and to defend, together with the people, the revolution's achievements.

This is how we honor the memory of the heroes, who have sacrificed their lives on the altar of the revolution, and this is how we contribute to defending the democracy that is being built in our homeland, to the consolidation of our country's economic potential and, on this basis, to ensuring the prosperity of the Romanian people.

[signed] cadres collective of Military Unit 02450

Defense Communique on Officers' Demands

AU1402085790 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0500 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] The Ministry of National Defense has published a communique, which states that on 12 February, a group of officers identifying themselves as representatives of some units of the Timisoara Garrison presented on Free Romanian Television a list of demands in connection with the activity of the Defense Ministry, a list which contained serious assessments about this institution and some of its bodies and figures.

Some of the questions broached, the communique says, attest to a poor knowledge and understanding of the facts in the Army in the current circumstances and of the measures that have been taken by the ministry leadership in past weeks. The way chosen to solve the problems preoccupying these officers violates the norms of the military institution and constitutes an attack on the basic values that ensure the stability and unity that are so necessary at this point.

We are aware of the fact that in the process of the democratic reconstruction of the Army, many things remain to be done, and while not all problems can be solved immediately, we are determined to intensify the renewal process in the coming period. Lack of patience, frustration, and the attempt to impose hasty measures under pressure may compromise a genuine, fundamental, and long-term solution to the difficult problems faced by the Army, which were inherited from the dictatorship.

This is also the reason that many soldiers and military staff in commands and units—viewing these actions as inopportune—have distanced themselves from them.

We are convinced, the Defense Ministry communique concludes, that all military personnel will seek—with lucidity and professionalism—the most effective way to participate creatively in the efforts to bring about the Army's democratic reconstruction.

Roman Meets Military Representatives

AU1402112590 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 14 Feb 90

[Text] Prime Minister Petre Roman is holding a meeting at this hour with a group of delegates from military units in Timisoara and other localities of our country.

Provisional National Unity Council Convenes

Elects Leaders

AU1302084490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0808 GMT 13 Feb 90

["Flash News—Meeting of the Provisional National Unity Council"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 13/2/1990—The Provisional National Unity Council meets again today in Bucharest's Parliament Building. This law-making body—a "mini parliament" formed last week—is comprised of 253 members who represent all newly created political parties, the NSF [National Salvation Front] Council, the Union of Ethnic Minorities and the Association of Former Political Detainees.

According to the agreement made at the end of last week's meeting, today's session will discuss the election of the leading organs of the Provisional National Unity Council and its way of work.

Discusses Validation of Members

AU1302102490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1000 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] The proceedings of the Provisional National Unity Council were resumed at the Parliament Hall half an hour ago. The meeting is currently discussing draft regulations on the organization and holding of the Council's sessions.

To begin with, 37 speakers registered to take the floor in connection with matters pertaining to the validation of the members of this body.

It was announced that the National Progressive Party could not be validated, because it has not yet registered at the Bucharest Municipal Tribunal. For the time being, the proceedings are being attended by the Baia Mare Progressive Party, which has fulfilled legal formalities.

The Republican Union has registered as an observer at the proceedings. It has been decided that the proceedings of the Provisional National Unity Council be fully recorded by television. Romanian and foreign press representatives are authorized to participate in the proceedings throughout the discussions.

Views Rules, Proposals

AU1302124790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1216 GMT 13 Feb 90

["Provisional National Unity Council Meeting"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 13/2/1990—A meeting of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] is discussing the draft rules for its functioning up to the elections. There will be 32 speakers.

Until a president of the PNUC is elected by ballot, the debates are presided over by Mr Ion Iliescu.

With an overwhelming majority of vote the press was admitted to the hall.

Among the proposals advanced during the debates of the NPUC we mention the resumption of the earlier names of the towns Dr Petru Groza [name not known] and Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej [Onesti], as well as the giving up of the memorials to Petru Groza in existence in Deva and Bucharest cities. It was also proposed that the pension of Alexandru Draghici, former minister of the interior and member of the leadership of the former Communist Party in the period previous to 1965, be revised.

Adopts Regulations

AU1302155490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Proceedings of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] have started this morning at the Parliament Palace. After the lunch break, proceedings were resumed with further discussions, point by point, on the organization and holding of PNUC sessions. The following regulations were adopted so far:

The Council will be convened by its Executive Bureau in ordinary sessions to be held once every fortnight, on a Friday, and whenever required.

The Council can only function when two-thirds of its members are present; it adopts decrees-law and decrees by a majority of votes of the attending members.

The Council sessions are compulsorily attended by the prime minister, ministers, leaders of other central bodies in charge of branches and fields of activity dealt with by the legislative bills and by other material under discussion.

The proceedings of the Council sessions are chaired by the Council president or by a vice president of the Executive Bureau.

The PNUC adopts decisions by secret and open ballot, in keeping with the expressed desire of a majority of those present.

The regulations stipulate that the government, the Council's Executive Bureau, and a group of at least 3 Council members are entitled to legislative initiative—that is to putting forward draft laws. The Council members can suggest amendments to the laws. After adoption, the decrees-law and the decrees will be signed by the president and will be published in the MONITORUL OFICIAL [OFFICIAL MONITOR].

In conclusion, the regulations specify that PNUC members can put questions to and interpellate the government and any of its members.

Council To Meet Every Two Weeks

AU1302223390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1716 GMT 13 Feb 90

["Meeting of the Provisional National Unity Council"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 13/2/1990—After extensive debates in principle and procedural talks on the rules of the organization and operation of the Provisional National Unity Council, during which more than 40 representatives of the parties and political groupings attending the meeting took the floor, each item in that document was discussed and approved by open ballot.

In the first part of the debates by items an overwhelming majority of votes were for the new legislative and state power body to meet in ordinary sessions once every two weeks, on Fridays, as well as whenever necessary. At the same time, it was agreed that the sessions of the Provisional National Unity Council should be held with a majority of two thirds of the total members of the Council, while the decisions to be made are to be adopted with a simple majority of votes.

The Provisional National Unity Council adopts decisions by both secret and open ballot, according to the options expressed by the majority of its members.

It was also decided that the Council's sessions should be chaired either the president or the vice-president of that body.

As for the adoption of the rules of organization and operation of the Provisional National Unity Council, Mr. Iliescu, who chairs the debates, said the Council was not actually a parliament elected by the people but a provisional body, specific to the transitional period Romania covers until the May 20 general elections. Consequently, the respective body should operatively solve all problems facing the country.

The proceedings continue.

Adopts Rules; Monument Proposed

AU1302212290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1928 GMT 13 Feb 90

["Meeting of Provisional National Unity Council"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 13/1/1990—During today's meeting the Council debated the last chapter of the rules of organization and unfolding of the sessions of the Provisional National Unity Council, namely that regarding the question and interpellation procedure. Following extensive debates it was decided that interpellations be written and read during sessions while questions should be asked directly. It was also decided that both questions and interpellations be answered during the same session or, function of the complex character of issues, during the next session set by the council.

After nearly six-hour debates the Provisional National Unity Council, gathered in plenum on Tuesday, adopted the rules of the organization and unfolding of the sessions of this legislative and state power body which is to function until the 20 May elections.

According to the agenda, the Provisional National Unity Council is to elect its leading bodies, an item that seems to be equally controversial.

Members of the Provisional National Unity Council say today's session of that legislative and state power body proceeds in a quite civilized atmosphere of understanding, under the impact of the moment it is held at and of the responsibility incumbent on each and every participant. Mr. Ion Iliescu's statement at the end of the debates on the rules of organization and course of the Provisional National Unity Council session is relevant in this respect: "I think this session was far more quiet than the one last Friday."

During the meeting, the representative of one of the political parties in the composition of the Provisional Council requested that his party be granted the mandate to erect a revolution monument in the Romana Square. The minister of culture, Mr. Andrei Plesu, opined— and the participants in the debates agreed—that like monuments should be built by fine artists so that they might be imparted genuine artistic value.

A representative of the Association of Former Political Detainees stated in the plenum of the Provisional National Unity Council that there were 50,000 unmarked tombs in Romania dating to the communist dictatorship in this country. People in Romania were sentenced and served sentences totalling one million years of imprisonment. We ask for nothing, we do not ask for gratitude, the speaker said, but this is a sad reality that everyone should know of.

Standing Commissions Established

AU1302221790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1949 GMT 13 Feb 90

["Meeting of Provisional National Unity Council"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 13/2/1990—After the second break of the meeting of the Provisional National Unity Council Minister of Culture Andrei Plesu said inter alia: These two sessions were entirely different: the first one, on Friday, was stormy and disorganized, rather frightening or disappointing, but which should be considered with more sense of humour.

The session of today was more organized but I still had the feeling that we were a team of surgeons sharpening the scalpels but not making the incision. It is clear that what we seek is a simple mechanism with a fast, efficacious and democratic system of surviving until the elections. It is a good fact that people are on the alert but we risk to linger on procedural details the perfection of which belongs to another political stage than that we are traversing. The important decisions being made are the fruit of a broad consultation of all parties. I think that we will eventually agree on a very good working formula, and I am very optimistic.

The participants in today's session approved the creation of the standing commissions of the Provisional National Unity Council: the commission on reconstruction, economic development and foreign trade, the commission on agriculture, the commission on youth affairs, the commission on foreign policy, the commission on science and technology, the commission on education, the commission on culture, the commission on the environment and ecological balance, the commission on ethnic minorities, the commission on local administration, the organizational commission, the national commission to solve the intimations and wishes of the citizens who were victims of the dictatorship, the commission on health affairs, the constitutional and human rights commission, the commission on labour and social security and the commission inquiring into the abuses committed by the old regime.

Leadership Names Listed

AU1302214790 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] The Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC], set up last Friday, met today at the Parliament Palace to solve organizational problems. During the discussions the consensus was reached that Mr. Ion Iliescu should remain PNUC president.

The Executive Bureau consists of 21 members. The positions of vice presidents were given to Messrs. Ion Caramitru, Cazimir Ionescu, Carol Kiraly, Radu Campeanu, and Ion Minzatu. Mr. Dan Martian is the PNUC secretary.

The following members of the Executive Bureau were elected: Corneliu Manescu, Dan Faurica, Radu Nicolae, Mircea Dinescu, Alexandru Birladeanu, Gheorghe Manole, Toma George Maiorescu, (?Sentim) Meszaros, Virgil Andrei (?Vilca), Radu Ciuceanu, Ion Diaconescu, Constantin Gurila, Vincze Janos, Nicolae Dumitru.

The Executive Bureau will hold its first meeting this week, which will also examine problems pertaining to setting up the PNUC's 16 commissions and appointing their presidents.

Iliescu To Remain as President

AU1302175490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Discussions on setting up the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC] continue at the Bucharest Parliament Palace.

After adopting the regulation regarding the organization and functioning of the Council's sessions, issues regarding organizational structures will be discussed, and then the 21 members of the Council's Executive Bureau will be appointed and the composition of the Council's Commission will be agreed upon.

During the discussions, the consensus was reached that Mr. Ion Iliescu should remain in the position of the PNUC president.

The session's proceedings continue.

Iliescu Interviewed on National Unity Council

AU1302214890 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2045 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Interview with Ion Iliescu, president of the Provisional National Unity Council, by unidentified correspondent in Bucharest on 13 February—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mr. Iliescu, we know you have a marathon session behind you; still, Bucharest Radio would like you to make a statement for our listeners.

[Iliescu] With pleasure. We concluded a long meeting, which started at 1000 this morning [0800 GMT]. It is now almost 2200 [2000 GMT]. That is almost 12 hours of work—of course, with a few interruptions and breaks. I believe that this second meeting of the Council has made clear progress. This is the reason for the satisfaction expressed by all members of our Council. After the first turbulent session, marked by moments of tension and by arguments—which, however, also concluded with positive results, namely, the establishment of the Council—this second meeting was characterized by a clear-cut, constructive, and working spirit and yielded concrete results. We adopted and endorsed the regulations for the Council's functioning and activity, after very concrete discussions on each individual point and the overall issues. At the end of the session, we elected the PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] Executive Bureau.

The Bureau consists of 21 members: the president—here he is talking to you—five vice presidents, a secretary, and members. The first session of the new Bureau was scheduled for next Friday, and the next PNUC plenary session Friday next week.

Consequently, we had a fruitful session, which ended with positive results.

[Correspondent] Do you think that today's decisions mark a further step forward along the road of the democratization of our political life?

[Iliescu] I think this has been more than a mere step. It established an organizational framework for the common activity of political formations, which entered this common body of cooperation and collaboration for the entire duration of this provisional body's activity as state body, until the organization of the future elections.

[Correspondent] In this respect, I would like to ask you whether you believe that the task of the president has become easier now. In this connection, I would like to congratulate you, on behalf of all our listeners, on your appointment, being perfectly aware of the complexity of the task you will continue to perform.

[Iliescu] To a certain extent, it has become easier. On the other hand, it has become more complicated, because, from now on, we will operate under different working conditions and in a much broader framework. However, I think this is a positive thing, because all chances exist that we will work in a calmer atmosphere and do away with the climate of tension and confrontation. As a matter of fact, even today's session has revealed that—in spite of different views and platforms of each political grouping—it is even possible to reach a consensus, on certain points, and a constructive cooperation.

Now, it is rather difficult to talk about opposition, as we form a common body, because the members of the PNUC want to cooperate in order to ensure a climate of calm and cooperation throughout this preelection period and to ensure the continuity of life and all-round activities in this country until the elections.

U.S. 'Expert' To Advise on Constitution

AU1302085090 Paris AFP in English 0746 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Item by AFP Correspondent Bernard Estrade: Romanian Constitution May Have U.S. Founding Father]

[Text] Bucharest, Feb 13 (AFP)—Albert P. Blaustein, a cheerful and robust American professor, may well go down in history as one of the founding fathers of Romania's yet-to-be drafted new constitution. An expert on constitutional law and a professor at Rutgers Law School, Mr. Blaustein is used to travelling around the world advising various emerging states on what ought to be included in a modern constitution.

In the past 25 years, he has participated in the reform of some 40 constitutions and served as a consultant to 80 governments. His clients have included such diverse countries as Fiji, Bangladesh, Liberia and Uganda.

The recent transformations in Eastern Europe have brought him from across what was once the Iron Curtain to lend a helping hand.

"I'm an architect, not a policy maker," he contends. "I tell people: it's your country and the constitution must spring from your roots."

Flipping through a datebook filled with appointments, Mr. Blaustein reveals meetings with other law experts, the justice ministry, politicians and representatives of Romania's new political parties.

Eastern European countries, he said, have tended to look to France for their most of their culture and tradition but "they should not be so Euro-centered."

Unlike Czechoslovakia or Poland, Romania's particularly repressive regime left the country without a single expert in constitutional law, he said.

When Romanians began considering what a new constitution ought to resemble, they turned to a 1921 document which was based on the "badly flawed Weimar Constitution that permitted Hitler to rule Germany."

"There is no constitutional tradition here," he said. Under the former regime of Nicolae Ceausescu, the party apparatchik and bureaucracy "terrorized the little people." The most urgent priority now is to decentralize and the most urgent question is how to decentralize, he explained.

"There is a tremendous feeling that they are starving for books on human rights, constitutional alternatives, political parties, constitutional law. There is nothing here on this."

He stressed that the country would have to develop its own constitution to meet its special needs. "The best role for the outside consultant is to raise issues and ask questions, and serve as an encyclopedia," he said of his own participation in the process.

Mr. Blaustein, who arrived here last Friday, is to stay for about a week. He explains that he has been sent by two U.S. foundations, the Philadelphia Constitution Foundation and the National Center for Constitutional Studies, who "asked me to come here to do some exploratory work to assist in the development of constitutional democracy."

They are also footing the bill, as Mr. Blaustein's consultancy fees are thought to be close to 1,500 dollars per day, doubtless too great a strain for the bankrupt economies of Eastern Europe.

"The main fear is that if you don't pay your lawyer you think his advice is worthless," he said. But "now that my sons are grown I can make an effort for a good cause."

Foreign Ministry Statement on RSA Measures

AU0902182090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1759 GMT 9 Feb 90

["Statement by the Foreign Ministry Spokesman on Recent Measures in the Republic of South Africa"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 9/2/1990—The Romanian Government has learned with interest of the statement made by the president of the Republic of South Africa on the legalization of the African National Congress, the major South African political organization fighting against apartheid, and of other political and social groupings in that country, on the lifting of the restrictions imposed by the state of emergency and on the unconditional release of the fearless fighter for the rights of the majority coloured population in South Africa, Nelson Mandela, the historic leader of the African National Congress, as well as of other political detainees.

We consider that the steps taken can lead to a process apt to meet the South African people's will and aspirations for a definitive liquidation of apartheid and the establishment in South Africa of a democratic, non-racial society in which all the country's citizens, irrespective of race, colour and religion, may enjoy to the full the fundamental rights and freedoms of man and take part in the country's political and social life as a whole, without restrictions.

The abolition of the apartheid policy and the establishment of a democratic non-racial society in South Africa serve the interests of the South African continent, peace and security in the world.

Serbia's Prlja on 'Unofficial Visit' to U.S.

AU0902122790 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jan 90 p 2

[Dusan Zupan report: "Interest in Our Country"]

[Text] Washington, 26 Jan—Aleksandar Prlja, secretary for foreign relations of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, held several talks in Washington during which political events in Yugoslavia and Serbia were also discussed.

Prlja, who is paying an unofficial and fact-presenting visit to the United States, met, among others, a group of prominent officials of the U.S. Congress. During this conversation, as we have learned, they talked about the real role of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and possible consequences of the current blockade of the Yugoslav party, the situation in Kosovo, political pluralism, and a multi-party system, as well as necessary constitutional and other reforms at the federal level.

Representatives of Congress, as reported, confirmed their wish and intention to send a group of congressmen to Yugoslavia next spring so that they can thoroughly acquaint themselves with the situation, especially the situation concerning human rights and the rights of minorities.

There are plans for visits to Belgrade, Pristina, Zagreb, and Ljubljana. According to some assessments, the most interesting part of the conversation was devoted to relations within the Yugoslav federation and Serbia's views on the necessary reforms. Aleksandar Prlja, as stated, stressed that at present there are not sufficient prerequisites for a more pronounced expression of political pluralism and a multiparty system at the federal level. The way things stand at present, he said, without necessary reforms, the multiparty system could only be developed within federal units and would have clear consequences for Yugoslavia.

The conversation with a group of officials from Congress was also attended by the Vladimir Matic, charge d'affaires of the SFRY Embassy in Washington.

The republic's secretary for foreign relations also held talks with the president of a human rights group, Congressman Tom Lantos. The congressman, who was in the past very critical of human rights in Kosovo and who is the author of several anti-Yugoslav resolutions, stated, as reported, that the conversation considerably contributed toward his deeper knowledge about the position of Albanian nationality and the Serbian leadership's overall policy.

During this conversation they also discussed Lantos's upcoming visit to Serbia, in the second half of the year. The Serbian and Kosovo Assembly will take part in the preparations for this visit. It was concluded that such visits, which have an informative character, are of mutual benefit and that they can successfully be organized with full openness and timely preparations.

During his active visit to Washington, Aleksandar Prlja also met a large group of Yugoslav emigrants, mainly from Serbia, and spent two hours answering their questions on the current situation in Serbia and Yugoslavia.

During yesterday's meeting with one of the leading editors of THE WASHINGTON POST, Stephen Rosenfeld, Prlja presented a detailed explanation of Serbia's policy concerning the current dilemmas in Yugoslav society. It has been learned that Rosenfeld said that Washington is not sufficiently informed about Serbia's policies and that Serbia has often been presented in an one-sided way.

The editor of one of the most influential papers in the United States expressed interest in the forthcoming meeting between Slobodan Milosevic and the owner of THE WASHINGTON POST and the weekly, NEWSWEEK, Katharine Graham, during her visit to Yugoslavia and several talks that she plans to hold with Yugoslav personalities.

During the talks, as reported, the two sides expressed the view that the complex situation in Yugoslavia makes it more difficult to understand the essence of the current processes and that it was therefore necessary to intensify efforts on providing information, not only from Serbia but also from other parts of Yugoslavia. Contacts similar to this one will therefore continue in Belgrade and Washington.

Meanwhile, Prlja granted a fairly long interview to ABC radio network which was broadcast last Tuesday.

Fails To Convince Americans

AU0902121990 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 1 Feb 90 p 20

[Unattributed article: "And Another Thing"]

[Text]

And the Minister Says Nothing

THE NEW YORK TIMES has described Slobodan Milosevic in the following way: "A demagogic torchbearer of Serbian nationalism, whose program includes Serbian predominance, communist domination, and economic centralism...."

What fate is in store for hapless Prlja, Serbian foreign minister, who is just now visiting the United States but has obviously been unable to convince the Americans of the democratic aspirations of his leader? Will he join Zivorad Kovacevic [former ambassador to the United States] in reminiscing about his diplomatic career?

Sundic Commentary on German Unification

LD1202221390 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] If a balanced synthesis is to be found between Mikhail Gorbachev's words that the unification of Germany must be an integral part of a broader European process and Chancellor Kohl's words that only peace can emanate from German soil, and if on the other hand Europe as a whole is to accept the united Germany as an equal partner for cooperation, then there will be no impediment for either the Germans or others to have the two existing German states united into one state. To put it briefly, this is the result of the visit by Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher to Moscow. Mikhail Gorbachev was very precise in grasping the German problem, and even before Kohl and Genscher's visit to Moscow he knew well what the Germans wanted.

Let us note that Moscow has by no means opposed the changes in the GDR, and not a single soldier from the 20 or so Soviet divisions which are stationed there has gone beyond the threshold of the barracks to protect Honecker's regime. On the contrary, it is a firm fact that it was precisely the Soviet commanding bodies in the GDR who countered any kind of military intervention on the side of Honecker's regime. In other words, neither Germans nor the West as a whole can continue to demand anything of the Soviet Union. This fact, however, does not exempt them from the obligation to put everything that is needed on their part in the spirit of Kohl's words that only peace must emante from German soil.

The unification of Germany should, therefore, not be disputable in anyone's eyes. Nevertheless, it implies precise solutions, particularly in the sphere of European security. That is, a united Germany which has to remain within NATO—something Bonn and its allies want—poses a logical question of military balance on the continent; to be more precise, what is the future of the Soviet divisions in the GDR, and who is to guarantee that a future united Germany, as a member of NATO, will never claim the territories beyond its existing borders. The Germans themselves are not a sufficient guarantee since their neighbors will not trust them, at least not for some time, which in effect means that this obligation to guarantee European security must be assumed by the four great powers which won World War II. This would by no account impair Germany's sovereignty, but would suffice to enable Europe to live without any fear.

Of course, the best solution would be to have all the alien troops withdrawn from Europe, together with the obligation on the part of the great powers and the united Germany that they will renounce once and for all the use of force as a means of solving any problem. Priority should be given to broad economic cooperation between European countries, without discrimination and without any ideological and political prejudices. To be more precise, Europe ought to be a unified area of full collective security where each country would decide independently on the ways of its internal development, while being equally secure, regardless of its military and economic potential.

The past must not be forgotten nor should it be abused, for the 21st century should not rely on either. The prerequisite for Europe's future is a lasting and stable peace and economic development. Anything departing from, or contrary to that would again drive Europe into a situation which would be worse than when Europe was balanced on the brink of the precipice of cold war.

Germany is on a threshold of unification and has the highest obligation toward the European nations, an obligation of the kind it has not encountered before in history.

Talks on Foreign Economic Links With USSR

LD1302162190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1409 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Feb (TANJUG)—Yugoslav-Soviet consultations on international economic issues opened in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs in Belgrade today. The Soviet delegation is headed by E. Obminskiy, USSR Foreign Ministry head of International Economic Relations. The Yugoslav side is headed by Srdjan Kerim, assistant federal secretary for foreign affairs.

In the course of the consultations the two sides are expected to devote most attention to economic cooperation in Europe, the UN role in international economic relations, international trade policy, and relations with international economic and financial institutions.

Loncar Sends Message to Nonaligned Countries

AU1102144990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Feb 90 p 8

[TANJUG report: "Loncar's Message to Nonaligned Ministers"]

[Text] Belgrade—Budimir Loncar, Yugoslav federal secretary for foreign affairs, has sent a message to the foreign affairs ministers of the nonaligned countries, which was handed to ambassadors yesterday in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs. The message relates to the upcoming activities of the nonaligned countries in light of the latest developments in the world.

While conveying the message, ambassador Darko Silovic briefed the ambassadors on the main activities of the countries of the Nonaligned Movement. Particular stress was focused on the importance of international economic issues and on the need for thorough and joint preparations for the special meeting of the United Nations General Assembly to be held in New York in April.

Drnovsek Sends Message to Kaunda

AU1102180590 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Feb 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Nonaligned Ministerial Meeting on Namibia Soon"]

[Text] Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda received Branimir Pajkovic, member of the Federal Executive Council, today in Lusaka. Pajkovic is heading a Yugoslav delegation to the conference for coordinating the development of Southern African countries.

On this occasion, Pajkovic presented Kaunda with a message from Dr Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency and chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, on the movement's forthcoming activities in connection with convening a nonaligned ministerial meeting. The meeting will be devoted to Namibia, the situation in the Republic of South Africa, and the elimination of apartheid. The message also relates to the actions that Yugoslavia is undertaking for a peaceful resolution of the Middle East crisis, international economic problems, and the promotion of bilateral and particularly economic cooperation between Yugoslavia and Zambia.

President Kaunda conveyed his sincere wishes for unity and future prosperity to friendly Yugoslavia.

Slovenia's Kucan Discusses Elections, Secession

LD1302140790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1059 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 13 Feb (TANJUG)—"We are no longer going into the elections alone; other political parties are going into them, too, and with the same ambitions that we have," said Milan Kucan [member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium and president of the Slovene Party of Democratic Renewal], in a conversation with a journalist of Maribor's VECER. According to Kucan, it is a big question as to how the Slovene elected body will be formed in these uncertain and irrational times.

"What do you say to the thesis that it is possible that the party might lose at the elections, but that this could not happen to Kucan?"

Replying, Kucan said that "the question is the extent to which the electorate will opt for individual political programs and the people (?who represent them) and the extent to which they will vote against the party, which is also possible. The historical burden, or let us call it 'the political legacy', is great, and here everything that is taking place in Eastern Europe should be borne in mind. Hence there is not a little anticommunism, something which should also not be ignored. In these elections no one has a definitive victory ensured in advance, not even Kucan. It is more a matter of political speculation than of an assessment which might be based on real facts."

According to Kucan, "there is something of my work, my devotion, and my views in what the Slovene party is today." After my arrival from Belgrade, Kucan says, I affirmed myself on the Slovene political scene as the Communists' president. In other words, my political identification is linked to this organization.

Asked if it would be realistic to expect Slovenia's imminent secession, Kucan replied that the issue of secession was a very interesting one and that it is politically thought-provoking, but that the present European and Yugoslav juncture should not be ignored. In my view, the solution is not in further consolidating borders within Yugoslavia or in strengthening Yugoslavia's borders. In other words, the solution is to be found in Yugoslavia's entry into Europe and its participation in European processes and institutions. This will automatically lead to an opening of borders within Yugoslavia.

Today, when Europe is seriously considering a confederation of European nations, it is obvious that they will join it regardless of their internal organization. In other words, Kucan added, a multinationality state must be organized so as to be a legitimate representative of all the people living it. It will gain legitimacy providing it guarantees each individual nation full individuality, sovereignty, and free development, and providing an individual nation is not allowed to demand for its memebrs those rights which it is prepared to withhold from other nations, or to impose its ideas of what kind of political, economic, and social system they wish to live under. What this state will call itself is an issue for legal experts. What the politicians want to know is whether such relations are possible or whether differences between them are too big to make such relations possible. At the moment we are all trying to avoid discussing this, Kucan said in the conclusion of this interview with VECER.

Constitutional Court's Standpoints Reported

LD0802221490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0736 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Feb (TANJUG)—Except those submitted by Montenegro, amendments to the constitutions of other republics and the two provinces all contain provisions contrary to the SFRY Constitution. This is the gist of the standpoints submitted by the SFRY Constitutional Court in the SFRY Assembly. The formulation of the standpoints marks the end of a four-month long "general review" of almost 340 amendments to the constitutions of the federal units.

In eight separately formulated standpoints which, on the whole, were adopted by a majority vote, the Constitutional Court concluded that at variance with the SFRY Constitution are:

—Those provisions in amendments to the Slovene Constitution which refer to: the procedure to fulfill the right to self-determination; to the introduction of emergency measures on the republic's territory; to

giving guidelines to Slovene delegates in the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber; to "large business systems;" and to religious schools.

—Those provisions in amendments to the Constitution of Serbia which refer to restrictions on real estate transactions; to the use of Cyrillic script by state organs; and to the composition of electorate delegate units in the Chamber of Municipalities of the republic's Assembly.

—Those provisions in amendments to the constitution of Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Macedonia which refer to "large business systems."

According to the SFRY Constitutional Court, the amendments to the Constitution of Montenegro are not at variance with the SFRY Constitution.

In the view of the Constitutional Court, also at variance with the SFRY Constitution are:

—Those provisions in amendments to the Constitution of Kosovo which refer to the flags of nationalities; to the composition of electoral delegate units in the Chamber of Municipalities of the Provincial Assembly; and to rights in the sphere of the social security system.

—Those provisions in amendments to the Constitution of Vojvodina which refer to the use of Cyrillic script in the work of state organs; and to "large business systems."

The SFRY Constitution stipulates that the constitutions of neither the republics nor the provinces can be contrary to the federal Constitution and that the Yugoslav Constitutional Court has the competence to advise the SFRY Assembly on whether they contravene the country's supreme legal document.

The Constitutional Court carried out this task in line with the book of procedure rules to establish the constitutionality and legality of regulations and other general documents. In mid-December last year, eight public debates on the amendments took place in which scientists and public personalities from all parts of the country participated. The aim of these debates was in greater detail and in a more professional way to examine legal and other factors of importance for making final judgement on the amendments.

The review of the amendments has been the most comprehensive and difficult task undertaken by the Constitutional Court since its inception and has been completed in record time.

The Amendments to the Slovene Constitution (1)

In the opinion of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia, the nations of Yugoslavia and their socialist republics enjoy the right to self-determination, which implies the right to secession. The formulation of and the procedure for effecting this right is a matter to be decided by the SFRY Constitution and not by the constitutions of the republics. In light of this, the Constitutional Court concludes in its standpoints that the provisions in Amendments 68 and 72, which specify that the republic's Assembly, i.e. its chambers, decide at their joint session on the formulation of and the procedure for effecting the right to self-determination, are at variance with the SFRY Constitution.

In its explanation, the Constitutional Court stresses that, under the SFRY Constitution, Yugoslavia is a state community of voluntarily united people and their republics and provinces. The Constitutional Court also notes that the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, its working people, and citizens accept that under the SFRY Constitution they realize their common interests as parts of the SFRY and that the Federation is responsible for protecting the country's sovereignty, equality, independence, and territorial integrity.

The SFRY Constitution specifies that the territory of Yugoslavia is cohesive and that the SFRY frontiers cannot be altered without the agreement of all the republics and provinces, with the final decision resting with the SFRY Assembly, i.e. its Federal Chamber. In light of these provisions, the Constitutional Court concludes that any decisions on the implementation of the right to self-determination must be made jointly and with the agreement of all federal units.

The issue of and the procedure for implementing the right to self-determination, including the right to secession, "implies arrangements and implementation of issues of concern to not just one nation or socialist republic, but to all of them as parts of a common state." In the Constitutional Court's view, the above provisions "affect the issues and procedures of importance for the composition of the SFRY, for its borders and its internal, material, and other relations, for Yugoslavia's international status, as well as for the rights and material and other obligations specified by international agreements which the SFRY has entered into."

For the above reasons, the issues of and procedures for fulfilling the right to self-determination, including the right to secession, cannot be treated independently and one-sidedly by the Assembly of the republic which wishes to implement it, but in the manner stipulated by the SFRY Constitution.

The Amendments to the Slovene Constitution (2)

The constitutional court has come to the conclusion that, except for one, all other provisions of Amendment 63 to the Constitution of Slovenia, which regulates the introduction of the state of emergency in the republic, are also in contravention of the SFRY Constitution. In addition to the Slovene Assembly's right to introduce the state of emergency in the republic in certain circumstances, the Slovene Constitution also specifies that, without the Slovene Assembly's approval, no one can introduce the state of emergency or any other related measures on the territory of Slovenia or in any of its parts.

The Slovene Constitution also obliges Slovene delegates in the SFRY Assembly and the Slovene member in the SFRY Presidency to immediately inform the Slovene Assembly and the republic's other competent organs about any proposal for the introduction of emergency measures in their republic. At the same time, they are instructed to insist that the adoption of the relevant decision be delayed until the republic's Assembly has adopted a stand on the controversial issue. Slovene representatives cannot vote on the decision without the Slovene Assembly's approval. The Slovene Constitution also envisages the recall of the Slovene member in the SFRY Presidency if he does otherwise.

Having listed relevant provisions of the SFRY Constitution, the Yugoslav Constitutional Court concludes that the SFRY Presidency has the right and duty to proclaim a state of emergency on the territory of Slovenia or any of its parts when there is a general threat to the republic's existence or its constitutional order. For, this type of threat is at the same time a general threat to the existence of the SFRY and its constitutional order.

In formulating this opinion, the Constitutional Court proceeded from provisions in the SFRY Constitution which specify that a republic's territory is a part of Yugoslavia's common territory and that the Federation, through its federal organs, safeguards the SFRY's independence and territorial integrity, its political and socioeconomic system.

The presence of a general threat to a republic's existence or to its constitutional order can require the use of the SFRY Armed Forces which, under the SFRY Constitution, in peacetime comes under the competence of the collective head of state.

The Amendments to the Slovene Constitution (3)

In the Constitutional Court's opinion, the SFRY Assembly cannot be bound by the Slovene Assembly's prior consent, unless the SFRY Constitution endorses the highest delegates' body of the country to decide with the republics' and provinces' consent, something that does not apply to decisions on declaring a state of emergency.

Explaining why the Slovene delegates in the SFRY Assembly cannot be obliged to request postponing such a decision until the republican Assembly has had its say and why also one cannot demand that they not vote without its [Slovenia's] stance, the Court makes it clear that delegates in the Chamber of Republics and provinces decide by the federal units' consent only about certain issues, none of which includes the introduction of a state of emergency.

As far as delegates in the Federal Chamber are concerned, they make their decisions independently, in keeping with the guidelines set by their self-managing organizations and communities, as well as with common and general social interests. This very fact makes it impossible for the Slovene Constitution to oblige them [the delegates] not to vote on a certain draft decision in this chamber without the republican Assembly's approval.

As for prior consent, the same applies to the SFRY Presidency—it operates on the basis of harmonizing its members' stances and decides in the way endorsed by its code of practice, not on the basis of the republican and provincial assemblies' consent. In addition, the collective head of state exercises its rights and duties only according to the Constitution and federal laws.

This also applies, at the individual level, to the SFRY Presidency members; therefore, the Slovene Constitution should not have endorsed that the member of the Presidency from Slovenia could be recalled if he acted in contravention of the provisions of Amendment 63.

The Constitutional Court concludes, in this part of its report, that the only solution envisaged by this amendment that is not in contravention of the Yugoslav Constitution is: the duty of the delegates in the SFRY Assembly and the SFRY Presidency member from Slovenia to inform the Slovene Assembly and other competent organs on proposals for declaring a state of emergency in the republic.

The Amendments to the Slovene Constitution (4)

According to the provision of Amendment 72 to the Slovene Constitution, the chambers of the republican Assembly can decide upon taking stands on the documents which are in the process of being endorsed in the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber and which are part of joint guidelines for the work of delegates from Slovenia in this Assembly Chamber. Having assessed this provision to be contrary to the SFRY Constitution, the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia recalls that neither the assemblies of socio-political communities nor the republican assemblies represent the electoral basis for delegates in the Federal Chamber. Consequently, the guidelines for work can only be given by working people and citizens in self-managing organizations and communities and the socio-political organizations who delegated them.

Also contrary to the SFRY Constitution, in the opinion of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia, is the provision of Amendment 14 to the Slovene Constitution which envisages, among other things, that organizations which belong to so-called major systems (electroindustry, railways, post, and telecommunications) should be pooled, in keeping with the needs and interests of beneficiaries and also to ensure technological coordination with the corresponding systems in the SFRY.

The SFRY Constitution explicitly determines the compulsory integration or organization of associated labor inside the above systems in communities covering the entire SFRY territory and that workers employed there are obliged to ensure technological unity and their functioning in keeping with the needs and interests of the

country's socio-economic development and of the beneficiaries. Terms and methods of compulsory integration and principles of the functioning of the major systems are regulated by a federal law.

Finally, the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia also maintains the provision of Amendment 52 to the Slovene Constitution—which gives permission to religious communities to set up religious schools—to be contrary to the SFRY Constitution, considering that the highest law of the country explicitly states that religious communities can set up such schools only for the education of priests and not for others.

The Amendments to the Serbian Constitution (1)

The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia maintains that the Serbian Constitution could not legally envisage the possibility of a temporary restriction on real estate transactions in the republic's territory and has therefore assessed the provision of Amendment 20 to the republican Constitution to be contrary to the SFRY Constitution.

Let us recall that the Serbian Constitution prescribed that the republican law—which is applied on the republic's entire territory—could introduce temporary restriction of real estate transactions on a particular territory or set special conditions for these transactions, should a need for defending the country, protecting the constitutionally-established system, or other social needs arise.

Explaining this standpoint, the Court points out that, in keeping with the SFRY Constitution, the transaction of land and other real estate—to which the right of ownership applies—is free and that the law could only establish the terms of transactions. The Court emphasized that their establishment does not imply the prescription of restrictions which in fact mean a ban.

A possibility of temporary restriction on real estate transactions is also contrary to the provisions of the SFRY Constitution on human rights and freedoms, considering that owners of real estate in a particular territory are placed in an unequal position compared to the ones from other territories. The prescription of restrictions is also not "a method of realizing individual rights and freedoms" because they—in keeping with the SFRY Constitution—can neither be taken away nor restricted.

The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia has also found that two provisions of Amendment 27 to the Serbian Constitution—which refer to the use of Cyrillic in the work of state organs—are contrary to the SFRY Constitution.

The first one, according to which republican law regulates when Cyrillic script should be used for offical and public purposes, is ambiguous. It "can be interpreted in such a way that, according to the Serbian Constitution, the Latin script is in official and public use, while the republican law regulates when Cyrillic should be used for official and public purposes." One is reminded that this provision can also be interpreted "in such a way that it leaves open the question of official and public use of the Latin script, considering that the republican law regulates the official and public use of the Cyrillic."

The Amendments to the Serbian Constitution (2)

It follows from the second provision—which specifies that state organs and public authority organizations must use Cyrillic script unless the republic's law stipulates otherwise in certain cases—that these bodies use the Cyrillic script and the Latin script only in certain cases as prescribed by the republic's law. Under this provision, the Latin script is used only in certain cases or can be excluded from being used at all.

In its standpoints, the Constitutional Court notes that the SFRY Constitution guarantees equality for the nations' languages and for their scripts and that the Serbo-Croat language uses two scripts which, under the relevant provision in the Constitution of Serbia, are both in official use. The Constitutional Court concludes that the provisions of Amendment 27 to the republic's Constitution "are conducive to an unequal use of the Serbo-Croat language scripts, and as such are in contravention of the SFRY Constitution."

The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia believes that the part of the provision in Amendment 30 to the Constitution of Serbia, which specifies that an electoral unit for electing delegates to the Chamber of Municipalities of the republic's Assembly consists of the working people and citizens in socio-political organizations, also violates the SFRY Constitution.

Under the federal Constitution, the Chamber of Municipalities of the republic's or provincial assembly consists of delegates elected by the working people and citizens in self-managing organizations and communities alone, and not in socio-political organizations as well.

The Amendments to the Constitutions of Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Macedonia

"Examining" the amendments of Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Macedonia, the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia has found that one provision in each—referring to "major" systems—is contrary to the SFRY Constitution. Considering that the republican constitution-makers prescribed relatively similar solutions, the arguments which the Court used to explain their contravention of the SFRY Constitution are also along those lines.

The provisions of Amendment 30 to the Croat Constitution envisage that workers in major systems—railways, post and telecommunications, and electro-industry—to which water industry and organizations for the maintenance and protection of roads are added—are responsible for providing technical functionality of these

systems' work and, on this basis, the technological unity of work processes, as well as their rational and efficient functioning.

It has been established that they do so in keeping with the needs and interests of the socio-economic development of the country, republic, and beneficiaries of their products and services and that the laws could prescribe compulsory integration of these organizations, as well as establish, on a temporary basis, the goals and their mutual relationship in the integration process.

The provisions of Amendment 22 to the Constitution of Bosnia-Hercegovina in which—in keeping with a formulation from the SFRY Constitution—only the railways, post and telecommunications, and electro-industry are mentioned—specify that workers in these systems are obliged to ensure technical functionality in their work and on this basis, apart from the technological, the economic unity of work processes and the rational and efficient functioning of these systems and some of their parts on the entire territory of the republic of Yugoslavia.

Almost an identical solution—including a stand on ensuring technological and economic unity—was envisaged by the provision of Amendment 26 to the Macedonian Constitution. The "order of priorities" is the only thing which was established in more precise terms, because it also insisted on the rational and efficient functioning of these systems and some of their parts on the territory of Macedonia, in keeping with the needs and interests of the socio-economic development of the republic and the beneficiaries of their products and services.

The provisions of all three amendments are contrary to the SFRY Constitution because the highest law of the country explicitly establishes the compulsory integration of organizations in the sphere of electro-industry, railways, and post and telecommunications into the communities covering the country's entire territory.

The employees [of these systems] are obliged to ensure technical functionality in their work and on this basis the technological unity of work processes and the rational and efficient functioning of these systems and their parts in Yugoslavia as a whole, in keeping with the needs and interests of the socio-economic development of the SFRY.

The Court also recalls that the SFRY Constitution envisages that the terms and method of compulsory integration of these organizations into communities, as well as their functioning, be regulated by federal laws.

The Amendments to the Constitution of Montenegro

The Constitutional Court's standpoint on amendments to Montenegro's Constitutionis very brief and consists of only one sentence: "The provisions in Amendments 24 and 63 to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro are not in contravention of the SFRY Constitution."

The Amendments to the Kosovo Constitution

The Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia has noted that the provisions of two amendments, 44 and 45, to the Kosovo Constitution—which regulate the use of flags of nationalities—are contrary to the SFRY Constitution.

According to the first one, the nations and nationalities in Kosovo have the right to use their flags in keeping with the Constitution and law; while according to the other one, the province sets the terms and method of the use of flags of nationalities.

Having quoted the constitutional "definitions" of the Federation, republics, and provinces, the Court stresses that the amendments to the Kosovo Constitution could not endorse such solutions, considering that the Serbian Constitution—in keeping with the provisions of the Federal Constitution—envisages that republics regulate the use of flags in their own territories.

In the Court's assessment, the provision of Amendment 45 to the Kosovo Constitution—according to which the province, in keeping with its rights and responsibilities, regulates the basic rights of working people and citizens and other rights of working people in order to ensure their social security and solidarity—is also contrary to the SFRY Constitution.

According to the SFRY Constitution, the regulation of working people's basic rights in the sphere of social security is within the Federation's competence.

Finally, the constitution-makers of Kosovo, in the same way as the Serbian ones, regulated the composition of delegate electoral units for the Chamber of Municipalities, of the Provincial Assembly, of course. It is envisaged that a delegate basis for the election in this chamber is also represented—apart from working people and citizens in self-managing organizations and communities—by socio-political organizations, which the SFRY Constitution does not mention.

The Amendments to the Vojvodina Constitution

The provision of Amendment 36 to the Vojvodina Constitution—according to which state organs and organizations which carry out public duties should use Cyrillic, if not otherwise regulated by the republican law for individual cases—is contrary to the SFRY Constitution, in the opinion of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia. It turns out that these organs are generally using the Cyrillic script, and the Latin one only in specific cases, i.e. that its use can be completely withdrawn.

Giving arguments similar to those put forth in connection with the amendments to the Serbian Constitution on the same subject, the Court concludes that the proposed solution gives rise to inequality in the use of Serbo-Croat language scripts.

As in the Constitutions of Slovenia, Macedonia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Croatia, the Court has found that the provision of Amendment 15 of the Vojvodina Constitution—referring to "major systems"—was contrary to the SFRY Constitution.

This provision envisages that organizations in the sphere of post and telecommunications, electro-industry, and railways are obliged to ensure technological functionality and technological unity of work proceses in keeping with the needs and interests of the socio-economic development of the province and the beneficiaries of their products and services.

However, the Court stresses that these organizations are obliged—according to the SFRY Constitution—to integrate in communities at the federal level in keeping with the country's socio-economic needs, while compulsory integration can be regulated by a federal law.

Croat Assembly Supports Constitutional Changes

LD1201155990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Servicemerit in Serbo-Croatian 1348 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Zagreb, 11 Jan (TANJUG)—The Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Croatia today gave its approval to the Federal Executive Council initiative regarding the changes to the SFRY Constitution. New solutions should be of a high quality and should contribute toward the country's emergence from the grave socioeconomic situation toward a new manner of conducting economic operations, an open market, and in line with the level of federal development, the assembly stressed.

It drew particular attention to the possibility that this round of changes could also encompass other, constraining constitutional regulations that halt the implementation of the economic and social reform.

At the end of a several-hour-long discussion, the session adopted the conclusion that the assembly should vehemently condemn the brutal assaults on the constitutional order and on the social value system that had culminated with the recent events in Split and Nova Pazova. It also demanded that the Croat Executive Council prepare a report for the next session of the assembly about the course of the hitherto implementation of the assembly's stance's in connection with some current political and security events in the republic and in Yugoslavia.

Several delegates demanded an answer to the question whether competent state bodies have apprehended criminal elements in the recent events in Split, and if so, what they intend to do.

Delegates of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Croatia elected by secret ballot Jadranko Crnic as the new president of the Constitutional Court of Croatia in the next four-year term of office.

Republics Back Government Constitution Proposals

LD1302201390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1709 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 13 (TANJUG)—The commissions for constitutional matters of the assemblies of the Yugoslav republics of Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina on Tuesday upheld a proposal by Prime Minister Ante Markovic's government for changing the Yugoslav Constitution.

Agreement to accept the government proposal to amend parts of the existing Constitution, adopted in 1974, was justified by the need to create institutional conditions for the implementation of the economic and social reforms in Yugoslavia, contained in the government package and adopted by federal parliament last December.

The Federal Assembly also received proposals by the Slovenian and Bosnian-Hercegovina republican assemblies.

The Serbian parliamentary commission for constitutional matters rejected the Slovenian proposal, because certain solutions are not geared to the economic and social reforms and refer to essential issues of the Yugoslav Federation, it was said. A view of the Yugoslav state as a confederation is unacceptable in principle, the commission said.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina commission for constitutional changes believes that, apart from four amendments, all the other changes proposed by the Slovenian parliament are acceptable. According to the commssion, the four amendments should not be rejected a priori, but discussed later, when changing the federal Constitution.

The Croatian Assembly commission stressed that the amended government proposal for constitutional changes largely covers the orientation and proposals made at recent debates in this republic.

The government of Vojvodina, one of Serbia's two autonomous provinces, today decided to propose to the provincial Assembly to adopt the federal government proposal for constitutional changes.

The provincial government proposed to its parliament to adopt the Slovenian Assembly proposals refering to the economic, legal and political changes. It suggested, however, that the Assembly reject part of Slovenia's proposal refering to changes in the Yugoslav Federation and the authority of the federal bodies especially the Federal Assembly.

Macedonia Proposes Multiparty System Law

LD1102153690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1355 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Text] Skopje, Feb 11 (TANJUG)—The government of Macedonia today proposed a draft law on a multiparty

system which, if approved by the republican assembly, will permit alternative groups to run as political parties at the elections scheduled for late March.

The rules set out that political parties must have at least 20 members in order to be registered.

The parties will be equal as political subjects and will be allowed to have their own papers, radio and television stations and publishing houses. They will be entitled to budget financing of their activities proportionately to the number of seats they win in the republican parliament.

The draft law, however, poses certain limitations. All parties aiming to undermine the constitutional system, threaten the country's independence, violate human rights and freedoms and incite ethnic, racial or relgious hatred will not be able to register or, if registered, will be deleted from the register of political parties.

In addition to the League of Communists of Macedonia and a youth party which announced its formation, other groups on the Macedonian political scene also include the All-Macedonian Action (MAAK), the League for Democracy and the Socialist Party. If the bill is enacted, the newly-formed political associations will have to register as soon as possible.

Over 70 parties, associations and committees with various political programs have been formed in Yugoslavia so far.

Army Drops Party From Regulations

AU0702213690 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 1 Feb 90 p 2

[Branko Soban commentary: "The Army Is Very Slowly Saying Good-bye to the Party"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 31 Jan—It seems that a significant innovation was inserted in the Armed Forces Service Regulations almost 4 months ago (on 11 October 1989). In Article 13, a sentence was deleted which said that persons serving in the Armed Forces are obliged to actively participate in the implementation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] policy, and it was replaced by the statement that the persons serving in the Armed Forces are obliged to consistently interpret and to implement the policy of the highest state organs above all things.

The shift is indeed tremendous, for this would mean that the Army is thus definitely renouncing its obedience to politics and that it will serve only the state from now on, which of course should have been done a long time ago. Experience shows, however, that for the time being, this is merely a declarative move which is not yielding any tangible results yet.

The military leadership has indeed been much more flexible in its conduct lately than it was about a year ago. This was also confirmed at the LCY Congress, when the Army publicly rejected the Serbian proposal that the congress should be continued. Nevertheless, the Army will surely not renounce the old practice for a long time to come. This also was confirmed at the congress, when the proposal to depoliticize the Armed Forces was flatly rejected.

Such radical moves as made by the Hungarian Army, as well as by the Bulgarian Army a few days ago, when they simply abolished party organizations overnight, will not happen in our country for a long time yet. The shock would probably be too great for the Yugoslav Army, which grew together with the party and in essence has functioned as a party army all this time. It is known that virtually all the officers (exceptions are very rare) are currently LCY members. This almost monolithic devotion to the party has been an excellent instrument of discipline for all of this time, since the war, and at the same time it has been some sort of a duplicate line of command that has worked without a hitch.

Precisely for this reason it is difficult to believe in any radical and swift changes whose final result would be the abolition of the party organization in our Army. One will have to wait some time for this. Such conclusions are suggested by the guidelines which the Communists in the Army accepted at their meetings, as well as at their conference at the end of November last year. The Army is still in favor of a unified LCY, albeit a renewed one, and at the same time it is against a multiparty pluralism, which would introduce even more unrest in society while the situation in the country is already too hot. In brief, there is again a considerable difference between what is said in the regulations and other papers, and what happens in practice.

Therefore, the change in the Service Regulations is praiseworthy, but the praise for the change is due only when the prescriptions are implemented, and when the Army indeed only serves the country and its defense interests and when it ceases to give political assessments, which particularly in the past year were often directed at Slovenia and its proposals.

General on Yugoslav Supersonic Aircraft

AU2901155590 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Jan 90 pp 5-9

[Interview with Colonel General Anton Tus, commander of the Air Force and Air Defense, by editors Lieutenant Colonel Radoljub Matic and Captain Slobodan Nedeljkovic; place and date not given: "Yugoslav Supersonic Plane for the Next Century"]

[Excerpts] [NARODNA ARMIJA] Comrade General, what have been the basic premises for the decision to develop a domestic, supersonic, multipurpose combat airplane?

[Tus] Yugoslavia has a rich aerospace tradition. We have developed over 100 types of various aircraft for experimental and operational use (30 have entered operative

use) and have produced about 4,700 aircraft. Our decision in favor of a project concerning a supersonic, multipurpose, combat plane has arisen, first of all, from the realization that our country needs such a scientific-engineering and technological program and that we are able to carry out such a project, which also logically fits in with the continuous course of technical modernization of the Air Force and Air Defense and the operative needs of our defense. One should bear in mind that the importance of airspace and outer space is continuously increasing in the doctrines of the most developed countries, and that high performance weaponry, equipped even with elements of artificial intelligence—I am talking about the latest generation aircraft—have a decisive role in modern strategic concepts and in serving to deter aggression. We urgently need such an airplane for the country's defense and we must either import it or produce it ourselves.

The Most Complex Final Product of Domestic Science and Industry

[NARODNA ARMIJA] We decided in favor of our own development....

[Tus] Of course. We have been guided by the interests of strengthening our country's defense, but also the development of domestic science and industry. To meet the requirements of a domestic aircraft of extreme flying and combat abilities presupposes mastering the latest knowledge and technology. This will undoubtedly ensure the conditions for raising the engineering, technological, and scientific level of the country as a whole and an even higher level of our independence in equipping our armed forces with the latest weaponry. I particularly wish to stress that our new airplane will be the most complex final product that our domestic scientific and industrial sectors have constructed so far and a significant propeller and generator of the country's technological development. Its construction and development will enrich our scientific and industrial sectors with over 180 new technologies and materials and will ensure a generational leap in electronics, data processing, biotechnology, biological medicine sciences, and in many other fields. In terms of the complexity, the multi-disciplinary involvement, the intricacy of the final product, and its importance for our country's development, our airplane is technologically the most important Yugoslav development program.

[NARODNA ARMIJA] In brief: What sort of an airplane will we get?

[Tus] We have decided on a multipurpose, single-engined, supersonic combat plane, whose characteristics correspond to our doctrine of the use of the Air Force and Air Defense, or rather to the operative tactical requirements and conditions of our theater. This will be at the same time a fighter, a fighter-bomber, and a reconnaissance plane, best equipped for various strike attacks on land and sea targets, for air combat, and for air reconnaissance. Its equipment will thus define its use. The airplane will have high maneuverability performance and penetration speed, and it will be built of light composite materials which we are successfully mastering, and of aluminum-lithium and titanium alloys.

At the same time, we are developing equipment for our new airplane for electronic and counter-electronic effects, and its efficiency will be ensured through modern, multipurpose radar and attack navigation equipment. When it appears, it will fully match its contemporaries: It will rank among light combat planes; its cruising speed at low altitudes will be about Mach 1 (the speed of sound), and its maximum speed about Mach 2. Well, these are some of the details of the Yugoslav supersonic plane. I only want to add that in all respects we follow the concept of the development of the modern generation of airplanes in the world. Our leading experts know very well what is being done in developing the European "Rafale," the ATF [Advanced Tactical Fighter], the EFA [European Fighter Aircraft], the "Gripen," the Soviet, and other top- performance aircraft of the fourth generation. We have found a place among them for an airplane of similar combat power and new technical solutions, but which is much lighter, simpler, and cheaper. Because of all this it will be attractive for other air forces, too.

Financing the Project of a General Yugoslav Nature

[NARODNA ARMIJA] But, Comrade General, the European fighter EFA is being developed by four countries, and cooperation and integration accompany almost all of the more important projects. However, we are alone!

[Tus] We, too, will develop our plane with technological support from abroad entailing the obligation that our experts should master modern know-how as successfully as possible. Our aim is the transfer of know-how, "brains," and technology, and not of licences. We are working on concluding cooperative relations with interested countries and thus, we are jointly bearing the financial part of the development and production of the plane, and we will be persistent in attaining this.

We have a certain number of skilled cadres and the appropriate equipment in development institutions and production organizations. Some 50 leading institutions in the country have been involved in the realization of the scientific research tasks on the new plane, and a number of laboratories in the Aeronautics Technical Institute, the Aeronautics Research Center, and the Aeronautic Medicine Center have been fitted out for the purpose.

[NARODNA ARMIJA] How much will the Yugoslav supersonic plane cost and how will money be provided for this daring investment?

[Tus] I agree that this is a daring project, but it is also a project of exceptional importance for the country. We must go forward. Any vacillation in realizing the airplane development program would mean the stagnation

of our aeronautic science sector and numerous branches of science on which the former rests, and in general a disintegration of our aerospace industry, which has been growing successfully for almost 7 decades.

Tito's strategy of reliance on our own forces in aeronautics has yielded the maximum result, and the "Orao" project alone has enabled the introduction of 41 new technologies. I am stressing this in order to emphasize the importance and the resolve of continuing along this road. We are determined to conclude all the preparations and agreements and to proceed with the next stage of the program because the design outline (the first stage) has been fully accomplished.

The cost of the project's development will be 1.8-2 billion dinars in the coming 10 years. The importance and the cost of the project demand that it be a Yugoslav program. Such programs in the world actually are a country's development programs. It is well known that aeronautical scientific branches in engineering, electronics, medicine, and the aerospace industry constitute a criterion for a country's development level. The closest examples of the success of such development are Italy and Sweden, countries with a developed aerospace industry and electronics.

Considering the social character of this project, priority was accorded to it in the Yugoslav People's Army programs, and its development will be financed from the Army budget earmarked for scientific development and technical modernization, the funds of the work organizations and institutions participating in the program, and the funds for the technological development of the country. The expected sales of our extremely successful training and combat airplane, the Supergaleb G-4, will enable our aerospace industry to allocate the necessary funds for this program, too. The financial problem is being very favorably solved with the realization of the accord on joint development, production, or sales of this airpiane.

Yugoslav Supersonic Plane for the World, Too

[NARODNA ARMIJA] Will the future airplane be competitive in the world market when it is ready for its first flight?

[Tus] Certainly. Almost all the latest-generation combat planes in the world are much larger than ours and they are much more expensive, almost twice as expensive. Provided that we make a top-performance airplane and we have all of the conditions to succeed in this respect, there is no reason for not hoping for its "flight into the world." The greatest success so far has been achieved with our Galeb and Jastreb; about 180 planes have been exported. The world also displays great interest in our Supergaleb, and why should it not in our future airplane, which will be modern in every respect and very competitive in price...!? Of course, much has to be changed in our approach. What we need is modern marketing support, appearances at world aeronautic and astronautic exhibitions, and arousing the interest of possible customers who must be assured the conditions for finding out about the true quality of our products. [passage omitted]

[NARODNA ARMIJA] You are a delegate to the 14th League of Communists of Yugoslavia Congress. What do you expect of this greatest gathering of Yugoslav Communists?

[Tus] We live in a time of great changes in the world, both in the sphere of ideology and in the scientific and technical sphere. These changes direct us to build a society that will adjust and harmonize all of its development goals with the modern course. Transformations are indispensable everywhere in the world, and especially in the socialist countries which have reached an economic level from which they cannot advance without introducing major reforms.

We expect that our congress will strongly affirm everything that is comprehended under the term general reform, and above all that the Communists will "find themselves" and their place in the further development of our socialist self-managing society. We are at a crossroads, and the congress must necessarily assess the past with its valuable positive results and its major blunders that brought us into the state of stagnation and crisis, but it is most important to look forward in building democratic socialist society and emerging from the general crisis in which we are.

We must ensure the conditions for the functioning of a law-governed state, and for the economic laws, and especially market laws, finally escaping from political power and ensuring an improvement in economic and social currents. In this way the conditions for national and other unacceptable homogenizations and divisions will be eliminated. Man with all his values and abilities will come to the forefront, and healthy integrating currents will start flowing that will lead to actual links and to the necessary unity in the country and to the country's links with the world. [passage omitted]

Kosovo Party Official on Albanian Demonstrations

LD1202231490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1951 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, Feb 12 (TANJUG)—"Democracy was the camouflage used by ethnic Albanian separatists and nationalists in their destructive attacks, some of which had elements of terrorism," secretary of the Kosovo Socialist Alliance leadership Ferat Ahmeti said in his introductory address today.

Explaining the destructive character of this and last month's demonstrations in the province, Ahmeti said that attacks had been made against communications facilities and security organs, Serbs and Montenegrins endangered in their homes, roadblocks set up on almost

all roads. Demonstrators used firearms against the police, which was then compelled to respond in the same manner, Ahmeti added.

Ahmeti underscored that the demonstrators had been encouraged by support from a number of legal organs from Croatia and Slovenia, republics lying in the northwestern part of Yugoslavia, as well as by the disunity existing in federal-level leaderships on the issue of the settling of the Kosovo problem.

On alternative movements in Kosovo, which are not operating within the framework of the Socialist Alliance and are advocating negotiations between the two sides, Ahmeti pointed out that they did not contribute to a further democratization but were actually kindling ethnic polarization.

Illustrating the grave consequences of the latest demonstrations staged by ethnic Albanians, Ahmeti said that over 1,200 Serbs and Montenegrins—mostly women and children—had left their homes over a period of just a few days.

The situation in Kosovo has been quiet in the past few days. The latest encouraging sign is the return of elementary and secondary schools pupils to their classrooms today—after an enforced extension of their winter vacations.

Croatian Presidency Endorses Kosovo Policy

AU1302101390 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Feb 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Energetically Rejected Accusations About 'Treason'"]

[Text] Zagreb—At yesterday's expanded session, the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Croatia discussed the political and security situation in this republic and the whole country. After an exhaustive debate, the decision was made that the president of the Presidency would deliver a speech to the deputies at the upcoming session of the Assembly on the current sociopolitical and economic situation as an extraordinary point on the agenda.

The Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Croatia also discussed a report about the state and basic directions of the further development of the territorial defense of the Socialist Republic of Croatia and made the decision to pardon a certain number of people.

In the debate on the current political and security situation that will serve as the basis for the speech that will be delivered to the Assembly session by the president, Ivo Latin, it was stressed that all the state and political organs of this republic will be intensively engaged in creating prerequisites for the profound democratic reform of the political system. Of equal priority importance, as stated, are activities in carrying through the program of economic reforms in the program of the Federal Executive Council and the republican executive council, as this is the basic direction for the way out of the entire social crisis that all working people and citizens in this country are expecting the most from.

Apart from these two important assessments and because of their importance, the delegates also discussed issues connected with the latest development of the situation in Kosovo, which also has an effect on the situation in the republic.

All participants in the debate stressed support for the stands of the SFRY Presidency on the situation in our country and Yugoslavia's international situation, which particularly dealt with ways to overcome negative processes in Kosovo through political means and which were presented the day before yesterday to the delegates in the SFRY Assembly by Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency. In this connection, the delegates also discussed the participation of the Socialist Republic of Croatia in the Yugoslav program for Kosovo and assessed that this republic as a whole is carrying out the duties that have been undertaken.

The members of Presidency again expressed a commitment to creating conditions that would lead to the state of emergency being lifted in the province and to social action to eliminate the causes of the Kosovo crisis, instead of the situation whereby there are constant reactions to the consequences, above all, and repression is resorted to.

All participants in the session reacted with indignation and the most energetic refutation to insinuations concerning "treason" and even "high treason," as well as alleged support for Albanian separatists and chauvinists from the Socialist Republic of Croatia and its leaderships. This was all the more astounding and caused most serious concern—as stated in the debate—because this was said without any justification even by the official representatives of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and in the earlier debate in the SFRY Assembly. It is clear that such monstrous and irresponsible accusations must be discussed, it was said at the session of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Croatia.

Considering the importance of eliminating the causes of the problems, as stressed, the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Croatia had asked even earlier that the whole complexity of the Kosovo problems be discussed at an expanded session of the SFRY Presidency, with the participation of the presidents of the presidencies of the republics and provinces.

Albanian Sentenced for 'Propaganda Material'

AU2201135390 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 17 Jan 90 p 12

[A.H. report: "Fifty Days in Jail for Propaganda Material"]

[Text] Dragas, 16 Jan—Two issues of the magazine ALTERNATIVA, published in Ljubljana, and the book

"The Albanian Film," published in Tirana, were found during a search of the house of Hamzi Ymeri in the village of Kuk near Dragas.

The Communal Magistrate's Court considered these magazines and the book to be propaganda material, and sentenced Hamzi to 50 days imprisonment, with the right to appeal.

Demonstrating Albanian Nationalists Jailed

LD1302151690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1437 GMT 13 Feb 90

[Text] Tetovo, Feb 13 (TANJUG)—The communal court of the City of Tetovo, Yugoslav southern republic of Macedonia, on Tuesday sentenced to two months in prison 17 Albanian nationalists and separatists and a teenager to two weeks in jail.

The 18 nationalists were sentenced for violating public peace and order and taking part in demonstrations by greater-Albanian nationalists and separatists on February 1 at Tetovo's Central Square.

The court also said that a large number of other participants in the demonstrations face or are already on trial.

Drnovsek Attends Slovene Presidency Session

LD1901103490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1922 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 18 Jan (TANJUG)—Several members of the Slovene Presidency, speaking at today's session, which was also attended by SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek and Presidency member Bogic Bogicevic, stressed that Yugoslavia needs a new agreement on the common interests in the country. Only after this will it be possible to tackle the drafting of the new constitution. Likewise, it was stressed that there can be no question of "Yugoslav synthesis" while Serbia is freely applying an economic and other forms of blockade against Slovenia, and while we are faced with two opposing concepts of the state and the economy.

The Slovene Presidency today also examined the stances and conclusions of the SFRY Presidency on the state of intranational relations and relations between republics, and on incidents of nationalism. [passage omitted]

Miran Potrc said that while strictly observing the sovereignty of nations and their states, it is necessary to open a debate on concrete reforms in the relations between republics and provinces. On this basis, it is possible to form a new agreement on common interests in Yugoslavia. This should precede the formal procedure for adoption of the constitution, and everyone should have the right to state his view without concealing well-known areas of conflict. Potrc feared that the present insistance on inflexible and rigid procedures in connection with the adoption of the new constitution is more likely to block than open such a discussion.

Presidency President Janez Stanovnik and several members of the Presidency noted that proposals in connection with the Constitution and certain other issues in the federation, particularly the problem of Kosovo, are met with categorical rejection and disqualification.

Although the policy deployed in Kosovo does not yield results, and the situation is even deteriorating in many aspects, there is no possibility of openly demanding new solutions. This is being instantly qualified as an attack on the League of Communists [LC] stances, the SFRY Presidency, and the Assembly.

Dusan Sinigoj stressed that the present Kosovo leadership had broken off all relations with Slovenia and the bodies specially charged with the duty to develop cooperation with Kosovo. Dusan Sinigoj maintained that a new agreement within Yugoslavia cannot be reached by force, and said that the economic blockade mounted by Serbia is an ultimatum and war against some other concept and, at the same time, a war against Yugoslavia. Therefore, Sinigoj is puzzled by the federal organs' timid response, since it is Yugoslavia that is most damaged by the blockade.

Smole maintained that the blockade is the most drastic aspect of Serbian separatism, and an example of destroying Yugoslavia's foundations. It is incomprehensible why the Federal Executive Council [FEC] and the SFRY Presidency, which are obligated to ensure the federation's normal functionining, have not responded resolutely.

Dr. Ivan Ribnikar maintained that one cannot talk about the Yugoslav synthesis while there are two differing concepts about the organization of the state and economy. Consequently this is not just a matter of a dispute between Serbia and Slovenia, but of a dispute between differing concepts.

SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek maintained that the two differing concepts, allegedly represented by Slovenia and Serbia, should no longer be discussed in a stereotyped way. Democratization and political pluralism have been accepted in the whole country, so Slovenia is no longer the only one in this respect. The same applies to the attitude toward opening to Europe and its institutions, whereas only a few months ago the situation was completely different. Other interesting processes which are not confined to just one republic are also under way. For example, it is impossible to ignore the developments in Serbia, which is being mentioned as the bearer of the other concept. Serbia is undergoing a process of democratization; is resolutely condemning the extreme views from Nova Pazova; and at the same time is not questioning the process of democratization, a multiparty system, and pluralism.

Drnovsek maintained that Yugoslavia is passing through the final stage of its economic and political crisis, and that the excesses occurring are in fact remnants of the past. Drnovsek stresses that this represents a fundamental difference, compared to the situation 6 months

ago. In practice, the SFRY Presidency encourages positive processes, rather than thwart them, as it did in the past.

Drnovsek, in adopting this viewpoint, explained specifically the SFRY Presidency's conduct in respect to certain excesses, such as the announced rally in Ljubljana and the economic and other blockade of Slovenia. Dr. Drnovsek said that the Presidency cannot be an autocratic arbitrator in a dispute between two republics, but it plays a significant role in creating preconditions for simply making senseless and irrational things, such as the blockade, from happening.

Dr. Drnovsek explained why the SFRY Presidency had not accepted Slovenia's proposal that the SFRY Presidency postpone the initiative for implementing the procedures for the new constitution, since allegedly the situation in the country did not provide for a constructive debate on the new constitution. He stressed that the majority of the SFRY Presidency members had maintained that the constitutional issues should be put to a broad public debate as soon as possible, regardless of the fact that there were differences in certain crucial views on relations in the federation. Drnovsek saw a possibility of establishing some urgent constitutional changes—necessary for the political and economic reform—in selecting from the FEC's existing constitutional amendments and amendments to them. That is because in this way, a possibility would be created of preparing the new constitution in a more relaxed and far-reaching way.

Dr. Janez Drnovsek announced a new debate on Kosovo in the SFRY Presidency, scheduled for mid-February, and called on Slovenia, together with the other republics, to provide—apart from general remarks—some specific proposals on ways to change the policy on Kosovo in order to achieve better results.

Drnovsek also expressed his belief that in Serbia an adequate solution would be devised in connection with the trial of Vlasi, and noted that the Presidency has twice discussed the possibility of his abolition.

Janez Drnovsek maintains that the extreme occurrences within the new political organizations call for clear rules of the game—which means that all political associations may operate, except those which entail elements of the ambition to overthrow the constitutional order in a violent way, and those which directly incite intranational hatred.

Dr Drnovsek pointed to the FEC's economic program as having an especially positive impact on the changing of the general social situation in Yugoslavia. He stressed that the SFRY Presidency had supported the government by adopting temporary measures, while he regarded the introduction of the dinar's convertibility as a significant psychological element in our opening to the world. Dr Drnovsek pointed out that the dinar's convertibility is appreciated abroad more than at home, and said that all the objective foreign responses to the FEC's measures are exceptionally positive.

Drnovsek recalled that in this phase we had carried out the economic program relying on our own forces and means, but that foreign partners are ready to support us as well, which would be of particular importance during the stage of reviving the economic growth.

Janez Stanovnik, replying to some assessments made by President Drnovsek, said that in the case of the Serbian blockade of Slovenia the SFRY Constitution had been violated and that it was therefore surprising that the SFRY Presidency had not reacted more resolutely. He also believes that the adoption of a new constitution could not be speeded up if there is no possibility of a fast and successful agreement on the basis of a consensus on fundamental questions. There is no doubt that all these questions should be discussed democratically and with tolerance, without any pressures and exclusions. In connection with Kosovo, Stanovnik added, it is difficult to expect concrete proposals from Slovenia if the most responsible organs in Kosovo are publicly saying that they do not want anything from Slovenia.